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STATE OF CONSTRUCTION, DECEMBER 8, 1897



445-247

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
AT ITS
FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

Held December 8, 1898

AND OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION

Held February 22 and 23, 1899

Published by Authority of Laws

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1898-99.

PRESIDENT

HON. JOHN JOHNSTON	.	MILWAUKEE
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VICE-PRESIDENTS

JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.	.	MADISON
HON. JAMES SUTHERLAND	.	JANESVILLE
HON. ROBERT L. McCORMICK	.	HAYWARD
WILLIAM W. WIGHT, LL. D.	.	MILWAUKEE
HON. JOHN B. CASSODAY	.	MADISON
HON. WILLIAM F. VILAS	.	MADISON

SECRETARY AND SUPERINTENDENT

REUBEN G. THWAITES	.	MADISON
--------------------	---	---------

TREASURER

FRANK F. PROUDFIT	.	MADISON
-------------------	---	---------

LIBRARIAN AND ASST. SUPERINTENDENT

ISAAC S. BRADLEY	.	MADISON
------------------	---	---------

CURATORS, EX-OFFICIO

HON. EDWARD SCOFIELD	.	GOVERNOR
HON. WILLIAM H. FROELICH	.	SECRETARY OF STATE
HON. JAMES O. DAVIDSON	.	STATE TREASURER

CURATORS, ELECTIVE

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1899

CHARLES K. ADAMS, LL. D.	HON. BUELL E. HUTCHINSON
RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL. D.	HON. JOHN A. JOHNSON
HON. GEORGE B. BURROWS	HON. BURR W. JONES
JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.	J. HOWARD PALMER
FREDERIC K. CONOVER, LL. B.	PROF. JOHN B. PARKINSON
JOHN C. FREEMAN, LL. D.	HON. N. B. VAN SLYKE

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1900.

HON. ROMANZO BUNN	HON. SILAS U. PINNEY
PROF. CHARLES N. GREGORY	HON. GEORGE RAYMER
HON. JOHN JOHNSTON	ARTHUR L. SANBORN, LL. B.
HON. ELISHA W. KEYES	HON. HALLE STEENSLAND
REV. PATRICK B. KNOX	HON. WILLIAM F. VILAS
HON. ROBERT L. McCORMICK	WILLIAM W. WIGHT, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1901.

HON. ROBERT M. BASHFORD	WAYNE RAMSAY
HON. JOHN B. CASSODAY	PROF. WM. H. ROSENSTENGEL
JAIRUS H. CARPENTER, LL. D.	HON. ROBERT G. SIEBECKER
WILLIAM A. P. MORRIS, A. B.	HON. BREESE J. STEVENS
MAJ. FRANK W. OAKLEY	HON. HORACE A. TAYLOR
FRANK F. PROUDFIT.	FREDERICK J. TURNER, PH. D.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer, constitute the executive committee.

STANDING COMMITTEES (OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).

Library — Turner (chairman), Gregory, Raymer, Anderson, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Art Gallery and Museum — Oakley (chairman), Keyes, Johnson, Knox, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication — Conover (chairman), Jones, Sanborn, Vilas, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance — Van Slyke (chairman), Morris, Ramsay, Burrows, and Palmer.

Advisory Committee (ex-officio) — Turner, Oakley, Conover, and Van Slyke.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES (OF THE SOCIETY).

Draper Homestead — Van Slyke (chairman), Steensland, and Thwaites.

Biennial Address, 1899 — Thwaites (chairman), Adams, Stevens, Gregory, and Turner.

Field Meeting, Autumn of 1899 — Turner (chairman), Wight, Jackson, Stickney, and Thwaites.

Relations with the State University — Thwaites (chairman), Hanks, Burrows, Morris, and Raymer.

LIBRARY STAFF

SECRETARY AND SUPERINTENDENT

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

LIBRARIAN AND ASST. SUPERINTENDENT

ISAAC SAMUEL BRADLEY

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

MINNIE MYRTLE OAKLEY

LIBRARY ASSISTANTS

[In alphabetical order]

FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER

EMMA HELEN BLAIR*

MARY STUART FOSTER

EMMA ALETHEA HAWLEY

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS

GEORGIANA RUSSELL SHELDON

IVA ALICE WELSH

JANITORS

CLINTON GUILFORD PRICE (library)

CEYLON CHILDS LINCOLN (gallery and museum)

LIBRARY OPEN — From 9 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.

PORTRAIT GALLERY AND MUSEUM OPEN — Morning, 9 to 12:30; Afternoon,
1:30 to 5.

* On leave of absence.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.¹

The forty-sixth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in its rooms in the capitol, Thursday evening, December 8, 1898.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

President Johnston, upon taking the chair, said:

Members of the State Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the 46th annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; but this statement does not convey an accurate idea of the length of time in which the objects of our Society have received the attention of some of the best minds of our State.

As early as 1845, Chauncey C. Britt, in the *Mineral Point Democrat*, urged the organization of such a society; and in October, 1846, there was a Territorial Historical Society organized here in Madison by delegates in attendance on the first constitutional convention. Although it set forth with brave resolutions, it held but the one meeting and then quietly passed away.

Early in 1849, the members of the first State legislature, taking up the idea of three years before, organized a State Historical Society with Governor Dewey as president. Although its efforts were not very fruitful until the services of Secretary Lyman C. Draper were obtained, yet the organization was maintained, meetings were held, officers were regularly elected, and a small library formed. Its work at length commenced with vigor under Dr. Draper's lead, and has continued without intermission unto the present day. The *First Annual Report and Collections* of the Society were published for the year 1854.

We have now nearly arrived at the close of the fiftieth year of our existence as a society. That little seed planted in 1849, by our first State legislature, took deep root in the affections of the people, and has grown to be a mighty tree of knowledge, whose fruit assists in giving intellectual sustenance to two millions of souls, and brings honor and fame to our beloved commonwealth.

¹ The report of proceedings, here published, is synopsized from the official MS. records of the Society.— SEC.

The child of the legislature, it has little complaint to make of its parental treatment. No doubt there have been times when our lawmakers have not fully realized its services as a great factor in the educational system of the state. They did not always appreciate the fact that it is to the libraries and to scholars at large what the State University is to the high and common schools; there have been times when its future looked dark, and when its very existence was maintained only by the careful solicitude and devotion of its friends. Although there never was a time when its funds were not too small for its work, yet the Society has had much to be thankful for in the past; and today a great future seems to be opening before it.

With a stately home being constructed for it by the State, an increased annuity promised so soon as it moves into that home, and enlarged opportunities for usefulness opening upon every side, the Society closes its semi-centennial year with high hopes, and the kindling of renewed zeal in the service of the people.

The date fixed in the contract for the completion of the new building is August 1st, 1899; but no doubt there will be delays, for more money is needed from the next legislature to complete, equip, and fully furnish the structure, involving new contracts. We need not, therefore, be surprised if it be the first of December before we can move in; perhaps the best we can hope for is, that our next annual meeting may be held in the beautiful lecture hall which the State is preparing as the future rendezvous of the Society. It will be proper for the Society to dedicate the new building with fitting ceremonies. This could, and I think should, be made the occasion for the observance of our semi-centennial anniversary.

Some twenty-five years ago, the legislature made us an annual allowance of five thousand dollars, for the general purposes of the Society. At that time, considering the size of our library, the extent of the demands made upon it, and the wealth of the State, the appropriation was no doubt reasonably generous. Then we had but 20,000 titles (books and pamphlets) in the library; today, as you will see by the report of the secretary, we have about 200,000. Comparatively few people sought our shelves a quarter of a century ago; the State University was then a small institution, with comparatively little original work being done there, in history and economics and social science, and there were few if any post-graduate students; today, the University is a power in the land, and our rooms are daily thronged with its professors and students, seeking material for original investigation in many fields; and, besides these, there seek our shelves students from many other universities, as well as an ever-increasing number of literary and professional men in and out of Wisconsin, who are not connected with educational institutions.

It would, I think, surprise many of our members, even, were they to know how extensively our institution is used by State officials, teachers, and citizens in general, as a State bureau of information. Daily, letters of

inquiry are referred to us by other State departments; and a glance at our secretary's mail would surprise one not familiar with its extent and scope, to see how many problems are propounded, of every conceivable character, not only by our own citizens, but those of other states. This answering of questions from those seeking information, is no small part of the work, although it is but one of our many fields of usefulness.

In fact, there is a new and widespread interest in our State and its history, in Western history at large, in genealogy, in economics, in social science, political science, and in all those branches of knowledge for which this institution stands. I think I may say that Wisconsin has, for the past few years, been taking mighty strides forward, in the field of general culture — nowhere is this fact more in evidence than in the daily work of our great library.

Thus have the demands upon us grown several hundred fold within the past ten or a dozen years — far faster than most of us are aware. Few of us appreciate, I imagine, how large and important an educational enterprise we have here — what its work is, what it needs to maintain and broaden that work, and what are its future possibilities.

In order to keep pace with the demands, it has been necessary to enlarge our staff either by engaging experienced persons or by training new workers. This has been done by very slow degrees, experimentally, and only after accumulated tasks have rendered it in each case a necessity. The assistants have primarily been required to be college graduates, and possessed of temperaments fitted to this peculiar and exacting sphere; and I hardly need say that the high requirements of the past should, and will of course, be maintained in the future. We have no room in this work for dullards; we cannot afford to engage any but highly-educated, tractable, and pleasant-mannered assistants. It is but just for me to say that our secretary's present staff of helpers appears to be an exceptionally intelligent, well-trained, and agreeable body of young women, with whom it is a pleasure for the public to deal.

Of course this growth of the staff has most seriously intrenched on the old appropriation of five thousand dollars per annum. Low as the salaries are, in the mass they now leave us less than \$2,000 per year for the purchase of books, with nothing whatever for the growth of the museum. We need at least \$7,000 a year for the library, and \$1,000 for the museum; this is a very low estimate, and we ought not to rest satisfied until it is doubled. The statutes provide increased funds for us as soon as we move into the new building; but it will be necessary for us to pass the intervening year with this insufficient means for book-purchasing. It is sincerely to be hoped that the expenses for maintaining the building will leave us with at least our minimum estimate for books. As for the museum, I would suggest that we make an effort so to increase the antiquarian fund, by private gifts, that an income of a thousand dollars a year may be ulti-

mately realized from that, for this feature of our work. The museum has great possibilities as a factor in public education, and increased popularity for the Society, and needs our support and encouragement,—although not at the expense of the library, which is, and always will be, our proudest possession. Present indications do not point to our ever receiving more from the State than sufficient to properly maintain the library. Apparently, the museum must depend upon the private funds of the Society.

At the present time we annually receive from the State what is equal to one-fourth of a cent for each one of our population; and when we move into our new building that will be increased to one-half of a cent for each man, woman, and child in Wisconsin. Is it too much to hope that the legislature may increase even this sum; and may we not ask this with more boldness, when we consider how cheerfully the people of our State annually contribute twenty-five hundred times as much to the national government, the need for a large portion of which sum has arisen from our desire to liberate a million and a half of people in a neighboring isle?

It is pleasant to note that within the past year there have been numerous additions to the membership roll of our Society — twenty-one life members and thirteen annual members. Although the roll is now fairly representative of the different sections of the State, it is to be hoped that many others may soon be induced to join our ranks. From many points of view, there is strength in numbers.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the growing strength and broadening usefulness of the Society, as evidenced in the annual report of the executive committee, and feel that we should enter upon the new year with a proud satisfaction of a half-century's work well done.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Secretary Thwaites, in behalf of the executive committee, presented its annual report, which was adopted. [See Appendix, A.]

FINANCIAL REPORTS.

W. A. P. Morris, of the committee on finance, presented the report of that committee, approving the annual report of Treasurer Proudfit, both of which reports were adopted. [See Appendix, B, C, and D.]

Mr. Morris also presented, on behalf of Chairman Van Slyke, who was absent, the report of the Draper House committee, which was adopted. [See Appendix, E.]

BIENNIAL ADDRESS.

Chairman Thwaites, of the special committee on the biennial address for 1899, reported that the committee had secured the services of Dr. George B. Adams, of Yale University, whose topic would be, "The Movement for Federation between England and her Colonies;" the address would be given before the Society on the evening of February 22nd, 1899. The report was adopted.

MIDWINTER HISTORICAL CONVENTION.

Mr. Thwaites also reported in behalf of the special committee of six (R. G. Thwaites and F. J. Turner, Madison; W. W. Wight, Milwaukee; A. A. Jackson, Janesville; E. R. Hicks, Oshkosh; and I. C. McNeill, Superior) appointed at the semi-centennial historical convention in June last, to prepare for a similar midwinter convention. The convention is to be held in connection with the biennial address before the Society on February 22nd, 1899, and men of prominence throughout the State will be invited to speak. The report was adopted.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved — That the Society hereby approves the plans for a midwinter historical convention under the auspices of the Society, to be held in Madison on the occasion of the biennial address, which have been prepared by the committee of six appointed at the semi-centennial historical convention in June last, and directs that the same be carried out by said committee, in conjunction with the special committee on the biennial address.

Resolved — That the Society hold a field meeting in the autumn of 1899, at some historic town in Wisconsin, outside of Madison, the date and place thereof to be fixed, and the programme arranged, by a special committee of five, to be appointed by the chair.

CURATORS ELECTED.

Messrs. W. A. P. Morris, F. K. Conover, J. B. Parkinson, F. W. Oakley, and P. B. Knox were appointed a committee on the nomination of twelve curators to serve for the ensuing term of three years, and reported in favor of the following, who were

unanimously elected: Robert M. Bashford, Jairus H. Carpenter, John B. Cassoday, William A. P. Morris, Frank W. Oakley, Frank F. Proudfit, Wayne Ramsay, William H. Rosenstengel, Robert G. Siebecker, Breese J. Stevens, Horace A. Taylor, and Frederick J. Turner.

REPORT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.

The secretary presented the official report of Hon. J. Q. Emery, state superintendent of public instruction, as state historical commissioner for the year 1898, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 289, laws of 1897. It was received, and ordered published with the *Proceedings* of the meeting. [See Appendix, F.]

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The annual meeting of the executive committee was held at the close of the Society meeting December 8, 1898.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Messrs. B. W. Jones, H. A. Taylor, J. H. Carpenter, J. C. Freeman, and George Raymer were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing term of three years, and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

President — John Johnston, Milwaukee.

Vice-Presidents — James D. Butler, Madison; James Sutherland, Janesville; Robert L. McCormick, Hayward; William W. Wight, Milwaukee; John B. Cassoday, Madison; William F. Vilas, Madison.

Treasurer — Frank F. Proudfit, Madison.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

The following new members were unanimously elected:

Life — George B. Hopkins, New York; Edward E. Ayer, Chicago; Peter White, Marquette, Mich.; Edward P. Bacon, Charles Best, Frank G. Bigelow, Wyman Kneeland Flint, J. E. Friend, Howard Greene, John C. Koch, George P. Miller, Fred Pabst, Henry C. Payne, Charles F. Pfister, Miss Elizabeth A. Plankinton, Charles Ray, and A. A. L. Smith, Milwaukee; James T. Lewis, Columbus; William J. Starr, Eau Claire; Gilbert M. Woodward, La Crosse; Herbert B. Tanner, Kaukauna — 21.

Annual — J. P. Buck, Henry A. Foster, Hiram G. Freeman, George C. Jones, and Henry D. Smith, Appleton; Stanley E. Lathrop, Ashland; George G. Sutherland, Janesville; John Wattawa, Kewaunee; Charles A. Curtis and Charles I. King, Madison; R. W. Fish, John C. Ludwig, Milwaukee; Frank H. Spearman, Chicago — 13.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The following resolutions were, after discussion, unanimously adopted:

Resolved — That the salary of the treasurer be and it is hereby fixed at \$150 for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1899, the same being payable from the binding fund income, in addition to the standing annual appropriation therefrom.

Resolved — That the Finance Committee be and they are hereby instructed to take such steps during the current fiscal year as they may deem

advisable, looking to the substantial increase of the antiquarian fund, as recommended in the address of the president and the annual report of the executive committee.

Resolved — That the chair appoint a special committee of five, on the relations between the Society and the board of regents of the State University, with regard to the management and maintenance of the new library building, said committee to confer from time to time with a similar committee of the board of regents, and, whenever necessary, to report to the executive committee of this Society.

Resolved — That the library committee take into consideration the matter of a differentiation of purchases of books and periodicals, in connection with the State University library; also, the advisability of an equitable exchange between the two libraries of those classes of books which may, after a plan of differentiation is agreed upon, be found foreign to the scope of each other's collection, and report to the executive committee whenever necessary.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

The president announced his appointment of the following committees for the ensuing year:

STANDING COMMITTEES (OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).

Library — Turner (chairman), Gregory, Raymer, Anderson, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Art Gallery and Museum — Oakley (chairman), Keyes, Johnson, Knox, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication — Conover (chairman), Jones, Sanborn, Vilas, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance — Van Slyke (chairman), Morris, Doyon, Ramsay, Burrows, and Palmer.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES (OF THE SOCIETY).

Draper Homestead — Van Slyke (chairman), Steensland, and Thwaites.

Biennial Address, 1899 — Thwaites (chairman), Adams, Stevens, Gregory, and Turner.

Field Meeting, Autumn of 1899 — Turner (chairman), Wight, Jackson, Stickney, and Thwaites.

Relations with the University — Thwaites (chairman), Hanks, Burrows, Morris, and Raymer.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

APPENDIX.

- A. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
- B. REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.
- C. REPORT OF TREASURER.
- D. REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FROM STATE APPROPRIATION.
- E. REPORT OF DRAPER HOMESTEAD COMMITTEE.
- F. REPORT OF STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.
- G. GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
- H. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED.
- I. WISCONSIN NECROLOGY, YEAR ENDING NOV. 30, 1898.
- K. LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS, IN 1898.
- L. STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION, FEBRUARY, 1899; WITH
ADDRESSES DELIVERED THEREAT.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

[Submitted to the Society at the Forty-sixth Annual Meeting, December 8, 1898.]

SUMMARY.

The Society's fiscal year just closed has, in large measure, been a season of active preparation for the occupancy of the new building, to which we hope to move before the close of 1899. This work of preparation has, with other causes, materially reduced our income for purchases, so that we have, throughout the year, experienced much hardship in this direction — a financial condition which will, we regret to say, continue with us for at least another twelve-month. While our growth in books and pamphlets during the year has been quite up to the average, owing in great part to gifts, — chiefly of public documents and monographs which are of prime importance in original research, — our accessions of necessary books "in the trade," or standard sets of resources, have unfortunately been meagre, in comparison with our needs. The semi-centennial anniversaries of last May and June received much attention from the Society, and the work which it was enabled to do in the furtherance of these, was generally recognized as of value; the net result to the Society was a considerable acquisition, by gift and deposit, of valuable manuscript records, a welcome enlargement of its membership list, and a more general knowledge and appreciation of its work.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

General Fund.

The general fund consists of the annual State appropriation of \$5,000. Its condition is as follows:

Receipts.

Unexpended balance, from previous year.....	\$310 03
Annual State appropriation.....	5,000 00
	<hr/> \$5,310 03

Disbursements.

(Analysis of expenditures, year ending November 30, 1898.)

Services	\$2,877 12	
Books, maps, and periodicals	2,040 44	
Pictures	20 75	
Supplies	11 85	
Printing	65 38	
Freight and drayage.....	104 68	
Travel	179 00	
Incidentals	9 81	
	<hr/>	\$5,309 03
Balance on hand		1 00
		<hr/>
		\$5,310 03

The report of the treasurer gives the details of the foregoing expenditures, and a statement thereof, as approved by the finance committee, has been filed with the governor according to law (sec. 376, Wisconsin Statutes for 1898).

Upon moving into the new building, the annuity from the State will be \$15,000; out of this must come the Society's share of the cost of maintenance of the building, and some other expenses now borne by the State because of our occupancy of rooms in the capitol.

The Binding Fund.

This fund, now consisting of \$28,291.54 in cash and securities, is the product of special gifts, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and the interest on loans. The net increase during the year was \$1,780.22, of which \$968.98 was received under the will of the late Stephen Taylor, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Taylor came from Philadelphia to Wisconsin in 1835, as an organizer of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and in that year established a lodge at Mineral Point, where he settled. From 1835 to 1841, he was assistant register of the U. S. land office at Mineral Point; he prepared and published an early map of the lead region, and in 1842 contributed to *Silliman's Journal* an article on the effigy mounds of Wisconsin. In 1843 he returned to Philadelphia, where he was a conveyancer, and at one time city comptroller. Revisiting Wisconsin early in the seven

ties, he became much interested in the work and collections of this Society, and later gave his portrait to our gallery and books to our library, and the sum of \$50 to the binding fund. Upon his death in his seventy-third year (December 8, 1877), it was found that he had made in his will the following bequest, to take effect upon the death of his widow:

"I give and bequeath to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin the sum of one thousand dollars to be added to the binding fund thereof; *Provided*, that should said Society at any time in the future erect a building for the assemblage of their members and the preservation of their efforts, then and in such case it is my will and I do so direct that the said bequest shall be transferred by said Society for such building purposes."

Mrs. Taylor died early in June, the present year, and the bequest then became available; but as the estate was not sufficient to pay the legacies in full, the amount awarded to us was, as stated, \$968.98. As the State, and not the Society, is erecting the new building, the finance committee conveyed the money into the binding fund. It would be well for the Society if it had more friends like Stephen Taylor, whose interest in its affairs took tangible form.

The binding fund is now doing admirable work, in eking out the bounty of the State.

The Antiquarian Fund.

This is the product of interest on loans, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and special gifts. The treasurer's report shows its present condition to be as follows, a net gain during the year of \$450.64:

Cash and securities in hands of treasurer.....	\$3,308 69
Note given for the fund, as yet unpaid.....	20 00
Total.....	<hr/> \$3,328 69

The income of this fund is eventually to be expended in "prospecting historical investigations, and procuring desirable objects of historic or ethnological interest." It would not be good policy to make appropriations therefrom until the income reaches \$1,000 per annum, which would necessitate a fund of at least \$20,000. It is worthy of consideration at this meeting, whether it would not be desirable at once to make an attempt, by subscrip-

tions among the members and friends of the Society, to raise about \$17,000 in order to make the fund available by the time of removal to the new building.

The Society's library is, and will always remain, its crowning possession; next in importance, comes its work of investigation and publication. In both fields, its chief reliance must be upon the bounty of the State. The museum and gallery are, however, the most popular features, and the source of greatest strength. If the State provides with sufficient liberality for the other departments of the Society's work, it would be a graceful thing on our part to see that the museum and gallery are properly maintained by us. We possess, in our present show rooms, a mere nucleus of what these latter features may readily become, with a small but wisely-expended annuity. There are immense possibilities in the museum and gallery, as factors in popular education; in the forthcoming fifty-first year of our existence as a Society, the time would seem fitting to make an earnest effort to at last place them upon a proper financial basis. When removed to the new building, we may rest assured that gifts of many kinds will soon be forthcoming—such is the experience of all similar institutions upon moving into new and better quarters; but we shall all the more need money of our own to fill the gaps, and assure steady progress in the principal lines of collection. It took many years of persistent, at times almost frantic, endeavor to raise the binding fund to a substantial condition; let us hope that, in these more prosperous days, the antiquarian fund may be a plant of more rapid growth.

The Draper Fund.

From the treasurer's report, it will be seen that there is now in this fund the sum of \$167.15. No portion of the income of the fund has been expended during the year. The Draper MSS. should be indexed as soon as possible; but the task is great, and involves the employment of highly skilled labor, thus entailing a considerable expense, for which the fund is as yet unprepared. The sale of the Draper homestead, now in the market, would add materially thereto. The sale of duplicates from the

Draper library was interrupted by the financial crisis; but doubtless we shall be able to find a market for some of them, during the coming year, thus still further augmenting this fund, which has in it possibilities of great usefulness.

Library Accessions.

Following is a summary of library accessions during the year ending November 30, 1898:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	1,691
Books by gift	2,440
Total books	4,131
Pamphlets, by gift	2,705
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings, etc., worthy of preservation.....	124
Total pamphlets.....	2,829
Total accessions.....	6,960

Present (estimated) strength of the library:

Books.....	101,720
Pamphlets	97,175
Total	198,895

The year's book accessions are classified as follows:

History, general	106	Useful arts	41
American history, general....	128	Literature.....	48
United States, local history ..	436	Philology.....	5
Foreign history.....	200	Philosophy and religion.....	70
Geography and travel.....	78	Antiquities	18
Biography and genealogy	153	Newspapers and periodicals ..	1,454
Political and social science*..	233	Cyclopædias.....	22
Legislation, including state and government documents. 1,049		Bibliography and library econ- omy	27
Natural science.....	55	Total.....	4,131
Fine arts	8		

The following comparative statistics of gifts and purchases are suggestive:

Total accessions (books and pamphlets).....	6,960
Percentage of gifts, in accessions.....	73
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges), in accessions.....	27

* Including social science, statistics, political science, political economy, law, administration, and reports of associations and institutions.

Actual total of gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned).....	7,132
Books given.....	3,069
Pamphlets given	4,063
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates.....	27
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	73

Duplicates are always welcomed, as these we exchange with other large libraries in the United States and Canada. No gift to us comes amiss.

WORK IN THE LIBRARY.

Catalogue of Newspapers.

The long-promised annotated catalogue of newspaper files in the library of the Society has been a thing of slow, one might say of spasmodic growth. Owing to circumstances beyond our control, which it is not necessary here to recite, work upon it was temporarily postponed, soon after printing began; and, despite our best endeavors, it has been possible to continue the undertaking only at long intervals. We take satisfaction in reporting that the catalogue is now in the final stages of publication, and will probably issue from the press within the present month. We believe that the catalogue will be generally welcomed by students of American history and economics, wherever situated; investigations into other large collections will be facilitated by the use of this list, with its accompanying notes and chronological arrangement.

The files in the possession of the Society now number about ten thousand bound volumes. The collection is fairly representative of nearly every state in the Union, and, to a less extent, of several other leading countries of the world. It represents nearly every political party in the history of the United States, and there are few interests, sacred or secular, that have not here some organ.

In addition to the labor involved in the completion of the printed catalogue, the newspaper department has well under way a card catalogue of the collection.

Classification.

Although hampered for means, we have felt it essential, in preparation for occupying our new building, to enter upon the great task of classifying and shelf-listing all save a few departments of the library. This work has been in active progress throughout the year, occupying the entire time of two members of the staff. At the close of the fiscal year, about one-half of the portion of the library which it is now designed to classify and number, has thus been treated. The work so far done, embraces the general history, geography, and biography of each country in the world, so far as represented in the library, except the local history of the United States and Great Britain; in addition to these, the two important classes of political science and social science have been completed. This work has involved the contemporaneous marking of the corresponding cards in the catalogue, which has employed one cataloguer much of the time, and often required the services of two persons, in addition to the classifiers.

The system of classification followed by us, is based upon that of Cutter, with such modifications as are necessary to meet our needs as a library specializing in history, economics, and political and social science.

Differentiation in Purchases.

During the past two or three years we have, so far as was practicable, had constantly in view in our purchases, the fact that we were soon to be under the same roof with the library of the State University. While both libraries will of course continue strictly to preserve their official identities in different stack rooms and offices, visitors to the building will be able, at the delivery counter in the great reading room, to call for books housed in either library. It is obviously important that these two institutions, both supported by the State, should not unwittingly duplicate their purchases. At present, an informal agreement exists, as to differentiation, in which the University library purchases in the departments of science, technology,

philosophy, philology, education, belles lettres (except Shakespeare and old English drama), and fine arts; while we continue to purchase only in the fields in which we have always specialized — history, genealogy, travel and description, economics, sociology, newspaper files, Shakespeare, and old English drama. This leaves us upon common ground in biography, bibliography, and periodicals, with the understanding that, as a rule, we take the American and general field, and the University the technical and foreign. But this agreement leaves open many complicated exceptions, which will have soon to be interpreted with definiteness, together with numerous other delicate questions of adjustment, by the respective library committees.

This matter of differentiation between the two libraries involves not only purchases being or yet to be made, but concerns present collections. Each, in its past attempt to be a general reference library, already contains much that is clearly within the other's special scope. It would materially assist in the work of administration, and prove as well a convenience to the public, if an equitable exchange of surplusage could be arranged either before or soon after moving.

Mementoes of the Constitutional Convention.

Up to a year ago, the Society had spasmodically acquired a few autographs and portraits of the members of the two State constitutional conventions (1846 and 1847) — perhaps a dozen in all. Inquiries sent out by us, incident to the semi-centennial anniversary, have led to the opening of a correspondence which has resulted in our acquiring a relatively large collection of such autographs and portraits, probably nearly exhausting present opportunities in that direction. Of the 187 men who participated in the two conventions, we now have autographs and portraits of about one-half the number, which will soon be mounted and properly bound for preservation. Many of the autographs are contemporaneous letters, describing the men and work of the conventions; in connection with them are also numerous letters by surviving relatives, giving heretofore-unpublished particulars of the lives of members, all of which

adds materially to the data now available for a history of the conventions and for biographies of the delegates. It is interesting to note that there are now (December 1, 1898) known to be living, but 10 of the 187 — Orsamus Cole, Milwaukee; Andrew E. Elmore, Green Bay; George W. Featherstonhaugh, Lake Gurnee, Ill.; Moses S. Gibson, Washington, D. C.; David Giddings, Fond du Lac; Benjamin Hunkins, Beaver Crossing, Nebr.; James T. Lewis, Columbus; Theodore Prentiss, Watertown; Harrison Reed, Jacksonville, Fla.; and Theodore Secor, Spencer, Iowa.

We are indebted to the following persons for aid in making our collection:

Bardsdale, Cal.—Robert Cruson; Beloit — Mrs. A. J. Atwood, Mrs. Elizabeth Barber; Chicago — H. D. Estabrook, Howard L. Smith; Columbus — James T. Lewis; Cortland, N. Y.—Mrs. M. T. C. Bishop; Disco — Mrs. James B. Cartter; Dubuque — Mrs. John Ely Bready; East Troy — C. W. Smith; Elkhorn — A. C. Beckwith; Fond du Lac — David Giddings; Fort Atkinson — Mrs. Edward Rankin; Fox Lake — Mrs. Elizabeth Judd Fisher; Glencoe, Ill. — James K. Calhoun; Green Bay — Miss Harriette Irwin; Greenwood, Texas — Sam D. Burchard; Janesville — Mrs. C. H. Patterson; Kalamazoo, Mich. — J. C. Bennett; Kenosha — Miss Cynthia M. McClellan; Lake Geneva — Mrs. J. W. Boyd; Lancaster — E. B. Goodell; North Greenfield — John Cooper; Madison — Mrs. Sarah T. Chapman, Mrs. Louise B. Favill, H. J. Hill, Mrs. Elma Smith, James S. Smith; Mendota — Capt. C. C. Carter; Milwaukee — Orsamus Cole, E. W. Edgerton, Adolph Huebschmann, Mrs. Statira S. C. Lakin, C. P. Larkin, Mrs. Moritz Schoeffler, W. J. Turner, John H. Tweedy, Jr., H. A. J. Upham, John B. Vliet; Mineral Point — Montgomery Smith, Miss Agnes Strong; Monroe — John Luchsinger; Oconomowoc — Warham Parks; Oshkosh — Andrew Jackson; Racine — L. S. Kellogg; Russell, Kans. — Mary K. Lewis; Sharon — Mrs. Lucinda Kinyon; South Jacksonville, Fla. — Harrison Reed; Spencer, Iowa — Theodore Secor; Washington — Mrs. E. T. Howard; Watertown — Theodore Prentiss.

Wisconsin in the Spanish-American War.

One of the most interesting collections in our library is the set of ten quarto volumes of newspaper clippings, giving the correspondence to home journals of Wisconsin volunteers in the War of Secession — a rich quarry for regimental historians. We are now engaged in collecting newspaper clippings relative to the mobilization and movement of Wisconsin troops in the

recent Spanish-American War This work, in which excellent progress has already been made, we have placed in the hands of a professional clipping bureau, which has ample facilities for gathering the material sought; it will cover not only the references in Wisconsin papers, but those of other parts of this country, and of Puerto Rico, where the troops of our State were stationed.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

American Historical Association.

December 28th-30th, 1897, the secretary represented the Society at the thirteenth annual convention of the American Historical Association, held in Cleveland, and presented a paper upon "The Functions of State-Supported Historical Societies." The meeting was largely attended, and proved successful in many ways. The association is doing a most excellent work in popularizing and broadening the study of history in America, and is yearly growing in strength. Among the matters of business considered, was a plan proposed by Professor Salmon of Vassar College, for a system of affiliated historical societies; it appeared to meet with favor, but for development was referred to a select committee. This plan comprises the following important features: (1) Any local historical society may be affiliated with the American Historical Association by vote of the executive council of the national organization and on payment of the ordinary membership or life membership fee, as in the case of any public library or other corporation. (2) It shall be the duty of such affiliated societies to deposit each year with the secretary of the American Historical Association a complete list of the names and addresses of its members. (3) The American Historical Association shall send to such affiliated society programs of its meetings and such other circulars of inquiry or information as may be deemed expedient. (4) The Association shall publish in its annual report a list of such affiliated societies, together with the leading officers. This plan will probably lead to the federal development of the American Historical Association, which is already a national society, chartered by con-

gress and reporting to it annually through the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who is now a life member. It will be seen that this national affiliated scheme has features in common with the state plan previously proposed with respect to our own Society and local Wisconsin organizations, and authorized by chapter 118, laws of 1897.

Library Conventions.

The Wisconsin Library Association held no meeting within the year, contenting itself with taking part in an interstate meeting at Evanston, Ill., February 22d, 23d. Librarians were present from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, our own library being represented by the assistant librarian. A district conference under the auspices of the State association was held at Oshkosh, January 28th, 29th, at which the secretary represented our institution; he was also present at the organization of the Fox River Valley Library Association at Menasha, October 21st. Our Society is actively co-operating with the State association and the State Free Library Commission, in forwarding the interests of the public-library movement in Wisconsin. It is gratifying to be able to note that Wisconsin occupies an exceptionally high position among the states of the Union, with regard to public-library progress, and its system of free traveling libraries is generally regarded as a model.

From July 4th to 9th, the American Library Association met at Lakewood-on-Chatauqua, N. Y., our representatives being the secretary, librarian, and assistant librarian. This association is of great importance and value to the library profession throughout the country, not only in its practical work but in its cultivation of *esprit du corps*. The Society should, as a matter of policy, be regularly represented at its meetings by one or more members of the staff.

State Field Work.

During the year, the secretary has, in the interests of the Society, visited various portions of Wisconsin, upon errands of

research in connection with the editing of the *Collections*, and to address public meetings either in behalf of free libraries for small communities or in the general interests of historical study within the State. Among the trips thus made, was one in connection with the celebration of the sixty-sixth anniversary of the Battle of the Bad Ax (Black Hawk War, 1832). Starting from Soldiers Grove with members of the Vernon County Pioneer Society, upon July 31st, the trail of Black Hawk was followed in carriages from the Kickapoo River to the Wisconsin, through a picturesque region in Crawford and Vernon counties. Addresses were made by the secretary at Soldiers Grove (July 30) and on the Bad Ax battle-field (August 2). About two thousand persons, representing a broad district, were present upon the field, and despite the discouragement of a pouring rain it was agreed to repeat the celebration upon this spot, every few years. Local celebrations such as this, upon historic spots, may profitably be held, and will do much to stimulate interest in historical study, and awaken a spirit of State pride.

Wisconsin Historical Collections.

In June last, Volume XIV of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* was issued from the press. The popular demand for the volume has been large, and we believe it to be one of the most interesting which has been published by the Society.

During the year we have received from Paris authenticated copies of a large number of valuable documents now resting in the National, Colonial, Marine, and Foreign Affairs archives, relating to French domination in Wisconsin, particularly to the prosecution of the half-century of relentless warfare against the Fox Indians. We have secured English translations of these, from the French, and expect soon to publish the series in the *Collections*.

Requests for our publications are constantly on the increase, thus testifying to the steady growth in our midst, of historic consciousness. The first nine volumes can no longer be supplied. The people would, we think, welcome a legislative appropriation for their reprinting, in order that Wisconsin schools

and teachers, especially, might be supplied with these materials for the original study of the history of the commonwealth. The Society, however, in view of its appeals to the legislature for substantial aid in other directions, does not at present feel warranted in asking this additional favor; it has been hoping that the teachers themselves would organize a movement therefor.

Appointed Superintendent.

At a meeting of this committee held February 10, 1898, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That in addition to their respective duties as secretary and librarian, the secretary be, and hereby is, appointed superintendent of the library, art gallery, and museum of the Society; and that the librarian be, and hereby is, appointed assistant superintendent."

MANUSCRIPT RECEIPTS.

The revival of popular interest in Wisconsin history, incident to the semi-centennial anniversary, has not yet resulted in many important accessions to our archives of manuscript records illustrating the early history of the Territory and State. Negotiations in progress, however, promise fruitful results; and several important collections have already been placed on deposit with us, but cannot yet be mentioned in our annual report — most, if not all, of these will no doubt ultimately be given to the Society. Contemporary documents — diaries, journals, surveyors' field-books, maps, letters, account-books, etc. — contain the most valuable data which can come to the hand of the historian of the men and manners of any period. It cannot be too widely known that the Society, as the trustee of the State, is anxious to amass and preserve material of this sort, for the benefit of future investigators. Citizens holding documents which are of historical importance should remember that so long as these remain in private hands they are liable to suffer from fire, decay, damp, theft, or the neglect of future generations which may care nothing for them; and they are practically inaccessible to the student of history. Every consideration of

public policy and of family pride points to the importance of placing them in a great public collection like this, where for all time they will be carefully preserved and utilized. The following receipts of manuscript documents have been recorded during the year (omitting those placed on deposit):

Mrs. Louise S. Favill, Madison.—Eighteen letters and other documents bearing upon the early history of the Protestant Episcopal church and Indian missions at Green Bay — all of these being published in Vol. XIV of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; account book of a Mackinac merchant, June, 1820—July, 1825; a bundle of accounts, notes, warrants, and miscellaneous legal papers (1839-57) from the office of the late Henry S. Baird, Green Bay.

David Grignon, Green Bay.—Two letters (May 1, 1827, and Aug. 23, 1837) bearing on the early fur trade in Wisconsin.

Mrs. Frank B. Phelps, Janesville.—Nine documents written by Eleazer Williams — eight sermons and one account book.

Mrs. Martha Showalter, Lancaster.—MSS. and clippings relating to Woman's Relief Corps of Wisconsin; the early history of Lancaster; and genealogy of the Ryan family.

Miss Ida M. Street, Milwaukee.—Four documents (1832-37) concerning the U. S. Indian agency at Prairie du Chien, under Gen. Joseph M. Street.

H. B. Tanner, Kaukauna.—Memorabilia of the Holland semi-centennial celebration, 1898.

A. J. Turner, Portage.—Facsimile of survey of the old portage trail at Portage, 1839 — published in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV.

Ellis B. Usher, LaCrosse.—Correspondence of chairman of Democratic state central committee, campaign of 1888. This collection is not accessible to the public before 1900.

THE PORTRAIT COLLECTION.

The official record of receipts of works of art, during the past twelve months, is as follows:

Photographs and Lithographs.

Byron Andrews, Washington, D. C.—Group of the U. S. war senate, 1898: group of the U. S. war congress, 1898.

Mrs. Louise S. Favill, Madison.—Daguerreotype of Mrs. Emeline S. Whitney (née Henshaw), wife of Daniel Whitney, Green Bay; photographs (reproduced in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV) of Madame Thérèse Schindler and Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird.

Franklin Hathaway, Chicago.—Photograph of himself. He surveyed the city of Madison in July and August, 1837.

Adolph Huebschmann, Milwaukee.—Photograph of Dr. Francis Huebschmann (framed).

Mrs. J. Adelaide Hubbard, Chicago.—Photograph of herself.

C. V. Porter, Viroqua.—Photograph of H. S. Townsend, a veteran of the Black Hawk War, taken at 66th anniversary, on Battle Island, Vernon county, Wis., August 2, 1898.

H. E. Story, Belleville.—Framed photograph of residence of Nathan Dane, Beverly, Mass., for whom Dane county, Wis., was named.

L. G. Stuart, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Photograph of Bishop Frederick Baraga.

R. G. Thwaites, Madison.—Six photographs of the Masonic Temple, Madison, Wis.; photograph of present village of La Pointe, Madeline Island, Chequamegon Bay, 1898.

A. J. Turner, Portage.—Photographs of Gen. J. J. Abercrombie, Henry Carpenter, Satterlee Clark, Dandy (Winnebago chief), Lieut. Jefferson Davis, Gen. W. S. Harney (2 copies), Mr. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie (2 copies), Capt. and Mrs. Gideon Low, Gen. and Mrs. G. B. McClellan, Gen. and Mrs. R. B. Marcy, Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, Henry Merrell, Gen. John Pegram, Mrs. Thérèse Prescott, Maj. and Mrs. N. B. Rossell, Gen. E. V. Sumner, Gen. Zachary Taylor, Gen. D. E. Twiggs, Mrs. C. O. Van Cleve, Lieut. H. P. Van Cleve, Gen. W. J. Worth, and Yellow Thunder (Winnebago chief); Agency House (Fort Winnebago); Ridgeway's painting of Fort Winnebago (2 copies); Fort Winnebago (1897); old wooden eagle (formerly over doorway of Fort Winnebago); uniform of U. S. army (1830-40); and Fifth U. S. infantry cap.

Purchased.—Autotype groups of bench and bar of Milwaukee, Madison, and Winnebago county.

Enlarged Photographs and Oil Portraits.

Andrew Jackson, Oshkosh.—Enlarged photograph of A. B. Jackson, signer of Wisconsin constitution, with autograph.

Clarence Kellogg, Madison.—Oil portrait of La Fayette Kellogg (framed).

H. E. Story, Belleville.—Enlarged photograph (framed) of Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Mass., a delegate to the continental congress, 1785-88, and the alleged author of the Ordinance of 1787. This photograph is from a painting in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

THE MUSEUM.

As stated elsewhere, this popular department of the Society's work lags because of insufficient means. It is sincerely to be hoped that upon removal to the new building, it may take on

new life, for the museum and the gallery mean much to the Society and to the public. The following accessions have been recorded within the year:

Mrs. E. H. Benson, Madison.—Natural briar-wood pipe; a piece of the tree or scaffold upon which John Brown, anti-slavery agitator, met his death; a piece of the table off which John Brown ate his last meal — all of these having been secured in Virginia by Capt. E. H. Benson, in 1861.

James E. Colenso, Madison.—Stock of a gun said to have been carried in the Battle of the Boyne, and in the War of 1812-15.

W. E. Hall, Oconto.—Piece of shell fired at the Wisconsin troops during the battle of Coamo, Puerto Rico, and picked up by Capt. Wilbur Lee, 2d Wisconsin volunteers; Mauser cartridges taken from the body of a Spaniard, after the battle of Coamo, by Lieut. W. B. Hall, of Oconto, 2d Wisconsin volunteers; Spanish fatigue cap, also picked up after the battle of Coamo, by Lieut. W. B. Hall.

Howard Greene, Milwaukee.—Member's badge, Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 29th reunion, Milwaukee.

William H. Hobbs, Madison.—Pair of iron fire-dogs from the birth-place of John Brown, at Farrington, Conn.

John Johnston, Milwaukee.—Facsimile of *The Aberdeen Journal*, No. 1, from Tuesday, December 29, 1747, to Tuesday, January 5, 1748.

O. G. Libby, Madison.—Hand-made nails (forged at blacksmith shop on the spot) from the frame of the first grist-mill in southwestern Wisconsin — that made by Charles Hickox, at Dodgeville, for Joseph Rolette, of Prairie du Chien.

Charles R. Martin, Tiffin, Ohio.—Blank charter, constitution, blank forms, blank books, paraphernalia, etc., of the Independent Order of Knights of Labor — in a wooden case.

Otto Oehler, La Crosse.—Grape shot (weight $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.) found in 1897 on Battle Island, Mississippi River (near mouth of Bad Ax), on which the Black Hawk War was ended.

Miss H. Sewall, Stoughton.—Old-fashioned foot-stove, which formerly belonged to Mrs. Ruth (Ladd) Boyce, who came from Vermont to Wisconsin in 1837.

Daniel O'Sheridan, Madison.—Supposed meteor, weighing 18 ounces, found by Charles Roe, in town of Madison, near Sauk road; Mr. Roe saw it fall, and found it buried in the sand three feet below the surface.

George W. Stoner, Fresno, Cal.—Pair of Chinese chop-sticks.

Egbert Wyman, Madison.—Part of seal used in the department of public lands, Territory of Wisconsin.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.

The various observances of the State's semi-centennial anniversary were in every way creditable to the commonwealth. The act

of congress admitting Wisconsin to the union of states was approved by President Polk, May 29th, 1848. As the fiftieth anniversary of that day, in 1898, fell on Sunday, and the following Monday was Memorial Day, it was decided to observe Saturday, the 28th. Acting upon the suggestion of this Society, numerous local celebrations were held at county seats and other centrally-located towns; these chiefly partook of the character of reunions of local pioneers, enlivened by papers and speeches of an historical character. At several of these meetings, steps were taken for the organization of permanent local historical societies, to co-operate with the State society.

Wisconsin's first State officers took the oath of office and commenced their duties on the seventh of June, 1848. The fiftieth anniversary of this actual birth of the State was made the occasion for a three days' celebration at Madison, lasting through the seventh, eighth, and ninth of June. The programme consisted chiefly of reunions — of the women of the State, its editors, its lawyers, its ministers of the gospel, county and city officials, pioneers who had dwelt in the Territory of Wisconsin (prior to June 7, 1848), survivors of the convention which framed the constitution of the State, and students of Wisconsin history. These several conventions were interspersed, chiefly in the evenings, with general meetings of the people, addressed by distinguished orators; while war-song concerts, public parades, boat-races, and fireworks were also features of the celebration. The attendance at Madison, during the three beautiful days, was very large, and representative of all sections of the State. The result was greatly to stimulate public interest in the history of Wisconsin, and in general to fire the patriotic impulse of her people. This Society was naturally interested in all features of the celebration,—and had done much to contribute to their success through the publication, from time to time, of circulars of information and advice,*—but its immediate concern during the week, was in the convention of historians.

*The following semi-centennial circulars were published by the Society, and copies may be obtained from the secretary, free of charge, until the stock is exhausted:

I.—A letter to the people of Wisconsin, relative to the several proposed

Actual attendance upon all of the conventions incident to the celebration was more or less diminished by the presence of outdoor attractions. The historical meeting proved quite as successful, under the circumstances, as was anticipated, and the papers presented were uniformly excellent. Two committees were appointed thereat: one, to make preparations for a midwinter historical convention to be held at Madison late in February or early in March, 1899, consists of W. W. Wight of Milwaukee, A. A. Jackson of Janesville, Emmett R. Hicks of Oshkosh, I. C. McNeill of Superior, and Frederick J. Turner and Reuben G. Thwaites of Madison; another, to memorialize the legislature to authorize the publication of the addresses and papers presented at the celebration, consists of William F. Vilas, F. W. Oakley, Horace A. Taylor, George B. Burrows, E. W. Keyes, F. J. Turner, and R. G. Thwaites, all of Madison.

Interesting memorials of the celebration, preserved by the Society, are the registers of attendance, giving the autograph signatures of Territorial pioneers, constitutional convention delegates, members of early legislatures, and veterans of the War of Secession, who were present at the several reunions.

The observance at the capital did not end the celebration. Milwaukee, as the metropolis of the State, wished specifically to illustrate the splendid progress she had made during the fifty years of statehood, in which she had grown from the condition of an insignificant frontier village to that of a well-built and prosperous city of three hundred thousand inhabitants. During

State and county semi-centennial observances — Issued November 3, 1897; p. 1.

II.—(1.) Statutes governing local historical societies, as auxiliary members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (2.) Suggestions for constitution and by-laws of local historical societies. (3.) Suggestions to local historical societies relative to work in preparation for county semi-centennial observances (May 28, 1898).— Issued December 1, 1897; pp. 15.

III.— A study of the foreign groups in Wisconsin.— Issued December 24, 1897; pp. 2.

IV.—(1.) Some suggestions to local historians, in view of the proposed observances of the State's semi-centennial anniversary. (2.) A selected list of printed material relating to the history of Wisconsin.— Issued February 2, 1898; pp. 22.

the week ending July second, a brilliant carnival was held there, partaking not only of the standard features of such an event, as seen yearly in New Orleans and St. Louis, but enriched with an industrial and commercial procession of an historical character. Milwaukee was, during the week, crowded with visitors from all over the Middle West, helping to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of the Badger State.

THE NEW BUILDING.

Progress upon the construction of the new home of the Society, which is being erected by the bounty of the State, has been slow, the work now being about a month behind time. At this date (December 1) the walls have been completed, except the ceiling and superstructure of the eastern loggia; the roof is being covered in, fire-proof and cement floors have been laid, and the rearing of partitions is now under way.

It will be necessary for the building commission to apply to the legislature, during the forthcoming session, for an additional appropriation with which to complete, equip, and furnish the building for occupancy. One of the most embarrassing circumstances to confront the commission has been the manner in which it has received its funds—an annual allowance of \$60,000 extending through seven years. To build by piece-meal, as the money came in, of course would have been ruinously expensive and unsatisfactory; the legislature intended that the commission should at once commence the building, to this end granting it privilege to borrow from the State trust-funds, in anticipation of its income. This method, however, involves the commission in the payment of interest to the State of over \$40,000 upon the money advanced from the trust funds, which serves to reduce the total appropriation by that amount. The heavy interest account, the quite unexpected cost of the structure as planned by the architects, and several large unanticipated extras, are the chief causes of the embarrassments which have confronted the commission, and for which it will be obliged, although unwillingly, to seek legislative relief. There is every reason to believe, however, that the legislature, after a

careful survey of the situation, will enable the commission properly to complete its task.

THE SOCIETY'S SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

"The Historical Society of Wisconsin" was organized at a meeting held in the senate chamber, the evening of January 30th, 1849. Of the 119 persons who then signed the roll, there are, so far as we are aware, but four now living—Horace A. and Henry W. Tenney, James T. Lewis, and George W. Featherstonhaugh. This society was but a revival of a Territorial Historical Society organized in October, 1846, during the first constitutional convention, but which had been allowed to lapse. The society of 1849 had a membership list embracing nearly all of the most prominent men in the new commonwealth; but it lacked vigor—there was no one who cared to spend time in its behalf; the only results were annual addresses delivered before the members in 1850, 1851, and 1852, and the accumulation of a library of fifty books, chiefly public documents, kept in the glass bookcase which in those days rested upon a table of the governor's office, and today is one of the curiosities in our museum. The Society had not disbanded—it was only sleeping—when Secretary Draper was, in 1852, imported from Philadelphia, to devote his whole time and energy to the work. A new constitution was adopted in 1853, the name was changed to "The State Historical Society of Wisconsin," an appropriation of \$500 per year was granted by the legislature, and business began in earnest in January, 1854. The story of its progress under the reorganization is as a household word throughout the confines of this commonwealth.

Thus our Society will, a few weeks hence, have reached its fiftieth birthday. Unfortunately, the first meeting under the reorganization (January 18th, 1854) was, in the records of the time, styled the "first annual," and our yearly meetings have always been consecutively numbered therefrom; this makes the present the forty-sixth, according to the records, which is chronologically misleading, for the Society of today is the same as that organized in 1849, with but a slight change of name and

an improved constitution. It is, however, now impossible to change this system of enumeration, without involving unnecessary confusion.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the close of the fifty-first year of the Society's existence may find it safely installed within its new home, with larger funds at its command, and already entering with fresh and vigorous zeal upon a still broader field of usefulness to the people of Wisconsin.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

REUBEN G. THWAITES,
Secretary and Superintendent.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.

To the Honorable Curators of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin:—Your finance committee have the honor to respectfully report that, in conformity with the by-laws, they met with the treasurer and examined his books of accounts, securities, vouchers, and papers in his keeping connected therewith, for the current year ending November 30, 1898.

The accompanying report of the treasurer, with its schedules in detail, was fully verified in every respect. The recent change of system, requiring all accounts to be paid by the treasurer, renders the work no less than the responsibility of his office too great henceforth to impose, without a moderate compensation, which your committee recommends; the care of investments, collection of the same, and the accounting of the several funds properly distinguished, as need be, are duties worthy of your consideration.

The foreclosure of mortgage against Schoonmaker caused a transfer of that account from mortgages to real estate, thereby increasing the real estate, unproductive, to \$1,787.93, which property it is suggested should be sold at the earliest practicable opportunity.

In comparison with your committee's report for 1897, when the	
Mortgage loans amounted to.....	\$24,591 67
These securities have increased	1,158 33
Now amounting to.....	<u>\$25,750 00</u>
The Draper homestead (unchanged).....	2,378 14
Unproductive real estate in 1897.....	\$1,207 39
Increased Schoonmaker transfer	580 54
	<u>1,787 93</u>
Balance of cash on hand.....	1,883 27
A total of.....	<u>\$31,799 34</u>
Thus showing a net gain during the past year, of..	2,262 82

The apportionment of resources at this time is as follows:

To Binding Fund.....	\$28,291 54
Antiquarian Fund	3,308 69
Draper Fund.....	167 15
Binding Fund Income... ..	30 96
General Fund.....	1 00
	<hr/>
Equals the total resources of.....	\$31,799 34
As against the year 1897.....	29,536 52
	<hr/>
Increase net.....	\$2,262 82

Respectfully submitted,

December 8, 1898.

N. B. VAN SLYKE,
W. A. P. MORRIS,
WAYNE RAMSAY,
Finance Committee.

Messrs. Burrows and Doyon of the committee absent from town.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Report of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ending November 30th, 1898:

*General Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 10.	To received from secretary, balance un- expended of appropriation for 1897..	\$310 03	
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1898.

Jan. 14.	To received from state treasurer, ac- count of appropriation.....	2,000 00	
Apr. 22.	To received from state treasurer, ac- count of appropriation.....	3,000 00	
		<u> </u>	\$5,310 03

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By total of expenditures by direction of secretary, as per vouchers.....	\$5,309 03	
	By balance on hand	1 00	
		<u> </u>	\$5,310 03

1898.

Dec. 1.	To balance.....	\$1 00	
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*Binding Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1.	To balance.....	\$26,511 32	
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1898.

June 25.	To received from estate of Stephen Tay- lor, deceased, pro rata share of legacy	\$968 98	
Nov. 30.	To transfer from Binding Fund Income account.....	811 24	
		<u> </u>	1,780 22
			<u>\$28,291 54</u>

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By balance	\$28,291 54	
		<u> </u>	\$28,291 54

1898.

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$28,291 54	
---------	------------------	-------------	--

*Antiquarian Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1. To balance \$2,858 05

1898.

Nov. 30. To transferred from Antiquarian Fund

Income account..... 450 64

\$3,308 69*The Treasurer, Cr.*

1898.

Nov. 30. By balance..... 3,308 69

3,308 69

Dec. 1. To balance.....,..... \$3,308 69

*Draper Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1. To balance.....

\$167 15*The Treasurer, Cr.*

1898.

Nov. 30. By balance..... \$167 15

1898.

167 15

Dec. 1. To balance..... \$167 15

Binding Income Fund Account.

1897.

Dec. 10. To rec'd from secretary unexpended
balance of appn. for 1897.....\$76 13

1898.

Nov. 30. To rec'd rents (Draper homestead)..... \$352 00

To one-half annual dues..... 110 00

To one-half sales of duplicates.. 10 64

To one-half life membership fees 180 00

To apportionment of interest (Schedule
"A") 1,340 571,993 21\$2,069 34*The Treasurer, Cr.*

1898.

Nov. 30. By total of expenditures by direction of
secretary, as per vouchers..... \$1,045 17By expended for repairs to Draper
homestead, as per vouchers..... 181 97

	By transferred to Binding Fund.....	811 24	
	By balance of appropriation subject to expenditure by direction of secretary.	30 96	
1898.		<hr/>	\$2,069 34
Dec. 1.	To balance	\$30 96	
		<hr/> <hr/>	

*Antiquarian Fund Income Account.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898.			
Nov. 30.	To one-half annual dues.....	\$110 00	
	To one-half sales of duplicates.....	10 64	
	To one-half life membership fees.....	180 00	
	To apportionment of interest (Schedule "A").....	150 00	
		<hr/>	\$450 64
			<hr/> <hr/>

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.			
Nov. 30.	By transferred to Antiquarian Fund...	\$450 64	
		<hr/>	\$450 64
			<hr/> <hr/>

Inventory on December 1, 1898.

Mortgage loans (Schedule "B").....	\$25,750 00
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Real Estate.

W. J. Thompson land (Jackson Co., Wis.).....	\$1,207 39	
J. Schoonmaker lot (St. Paul, Minn.)	580 54	
Draper homestead (Madison, Wis.)..	2,378 14	
	<hr/>	4,166 07
Cash in First National Bank.....	1,883 27	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		\$31,799 34
Apportioned as follows:		
Binding Fund.....	\$28,291 54	
Antiquarian Fund.....	3,308 69	
Draper Fund.....	167 15	
General Fund.....	1 00	
Binding Fund Income account.....	30 96	
	<hr/>	\$31,799 34

Respectfully submitted,

F. F. PROUDFIT,

Treasurer.

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FROM STATE APPROPRIATION.

Treasurer's statement of expenditures from the general fund (State appropriation for 1898) of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1898, as audited by the Finance Committee, December 5, 1898, and approved by the Executive Committee, December 8, 1898.

Receipts.

Dec. 1, '97.	Unexpended balance on hand.....	\$310 03
	Received from State Treasurer, during year.....	5,000 00
		\$5,310 03
	Disbursements, as below.....	5,309 03
Dec. 1, '98.	Unexpended balance, on hand.....	\$1 00

Disbursements.

Dec. 15, '97.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	\$50 00
Dec. 15, '97.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Dec. 15, '97.	Bureau of Amer. Republics, Washington, books.....	5 00
Dec. 15, '97.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 66
Dec. 15, '97.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Dec. 15, '97.	W. F. Giese, Madison, services.....	83 00
Dec. 15, '97.	T. A. Glenn, Phila., book.....	8 50
Dec. 15, '97.	A. H. Goose, Norwich, Eng., book.....	1 26
Dec. 15, '97.	Library Bureau, Chicago, book.....	2 50
Dec. 15, '97.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	24 11
Dec. 15, '97.	J. & A. McMillan, St. John, N. B., book.....	1 62
Dec. 15, '97.	Macmillan & Co., N. Y., books.....	15 25
Dec. 15, '97.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
Dec. 15, '97.	G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., book.....	2 00
Dec. 15, '97.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, book.....	1 00
Dec. 15, '97.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book.....	1 66
Dec. 15, '97.	Southern Hist. Ass'n., Washington, pubs.....	3 00
Dec. 15, '97.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	21 50
Dec. 15, '97.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	22 14
Dec. 15, '97.	Washington Book Shop, Washington, books....	11 50
Dec. 15, '97.	E. F. Wilson, Salt Spring Island, B. C., book...	1 25
Dec. 15, '97.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Dec. 15, '97.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Dec. 22, '97.	Adams Stamp & Stencil Co., Milw., supplies	9 05
Dec. 22, '97.	Peter Fagg, Madison, book.....	2 50
Dec. 22, '97.	Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, Italy, book.....	86
Dec. 22, '97.	Hudson-Kimberly Pub. Co., Kansas City, Mo., book.....	1 50
Dec. 22, '97.	C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, books.....	120 03
Dec. 22, '97.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books	23 18
Dec. 22, '97.	Otto Patzer, Madison, books.....	5 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Amer. Stat. Ass'n, Boston, pubs.....	2 00

Jan. 12, '98.	Aull & Houseal, Newberry, S. C., book.....	\$2 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Catholic Art Pub. Co., Phila., book.....	3 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, book	2 70
Jan. 12, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	29 18
Jan. 12, '98.	Auguste Gosselin, Quebec, Canada, book	1 00
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	5 08
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	9 74
Jan. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 51
Jan. 12, '98.	Northwestern Lith. Co., Milw., printing.....	25 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Observer Ptg. House, Charlotte, N. C., book	2 95
Jan. 12, '98.	F. A. Prince, Danielson, Conn., book.....	1 25
Jan. 12, '98.	H. D. Ross, Wilmington, Del., book.....	1 00
Jan. 12, '98.	J. F. Sachse, Phila., books.....	6 00
Jan. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	24 47
Jan. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book	3 29
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, book.....	1 86
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	11 78
Jan. 12, '98.	C. H. W. Stocking, Freehold, N. J., books	10 00
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Warner, Minneapolis, books	17 50
Jan. 12, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	13 78
Jan. 12, '98.	E. H. Blair, Madison, services	151 55
Jan. 12, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, sec'y, travel and incidentals	45 83
Jan. 19, '98.	Edith Conover, Madison, services	64 10
Jan. 19, '98.	G. J. Lydecker, Detroit, Mich., books.....	7 23
Jan. 19, '98.	W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	302 13
Jan. 19, '98.	Emma Runk, Lambertville, N. J., book	6 00
Jan. 19, '98.	I. S. Bradley, librarian, incidentals	2 65
Jan. 25, '98.	Amer. Hist. Ass'n, Washington, books	18 00
Jan. 25, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	7 84
Jan. 25, '98.	Democrat Ptg. Co., Madison, printing.....	40 38
Jan. 25, '98.	H. R. Earle, Adrian, Mich., pictures.....	10 00
Jan. 25, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage	2 00
Jan. 25, '98.	Ginn & Co., Boston, book	2 00
Jan. 25, '98.	C. H. Kilmer, Breesport, N. Y., book.....	2 50
Jan. 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	13 75
Jan. 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	70 03
Jan. 25, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, books	2 85
Jan. 25, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, book.....	1 62
Jan. 25, '98.	B. C. Steiner, Baltimore, Md., book.....	2 50
Jan. 25, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Jan. 25, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services	25 00
Jan. 25, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Jan. 25, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
Jan. 25, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Jan. 25, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
Jan. 26, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	2 46
Feb. 2, '98.	B. L. Blair Co., Indianapolis, Ind., books.....	8 10
Feb. 2, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 22
Feb. 2, '98.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	9 71
Feb. 2, '98.	A. J. Fretz, Milton, N. J. books.....	4 10
Feb. 2, '98.	Phileas Gagnon, Quebec, Canada, books.....	17 50
Feb. 2, '98.	W. F. Giese, Madison, services.....	39 00
Feb. 2, '98.	R. E. Gosnell, Victoria, B. C., book.....	1 70
Feb. 2, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 17
Feb. 2, '98.	Edward Roth, Phila., books	5 00
Feb. 24, '98.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	5 21
Feb. 24, '98.	M. D. Fullerton, Chillicothe, O., book.....	1 25
Feb. 24, '98.	John Hertzler, Port Royal, Pa., book.....	1 25
Feb. 24, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	9 50
Feb. 24, '98.	Alphonse Leclair, Montreal, Canada, books.....	13 17
Feb. 24, '98.	M. W. McAlarney, Harrisburg, Pa., book.....	5 00

Feb. 24, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	\$8 46
Feb. 24, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, books.....	9 25
Feb. 24, '98.	Pierre-Georges Roy, Levis, Canada, books.....	11 00
Feb. 24, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Feb. 24, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Feb. 24, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Feb. 24, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
Feb. 24, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Feb. 24, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Mch. 8, '98.	Amer. Library Ass'n, Salem, Mass., pubs.....	4 00
Mch. 8, '98.	G. W. Bell, Charleston, S. C., books.....	5 00
Mch. 8, '98.	W. A. Ferguson & Co., Elmira, N. Y., books.....	6 50
Mch. 8, '98.	Holy Child Ind. Sch., Harbor Springs, Mich., book.....	1 70
Mch. 8, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	7 20
Mch. 8, '98.	A. Leffingwell, Aurora, N. Y., books.....	5 00
Mch. 8, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	14 19
Mch. 8, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	7 12
Mch. 8, '98.	O. N. Nelson, Minneapolis, Minn., book.....	2 00
Mch. 8, '98.	P. Rosen, Madison, book.....	2 20
Mch. 8, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	112 73
Mch. 8, '98.	So. Hist. Society, Richmond, Va., pubs.....	3 00
Mch. 8, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	6 10
Mch. 23, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	3 87
Mch. 23, '98.	I. C. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	8 51
Mch. 23, '98.	Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., books.....	3 00
Mch. 23, '98.	Loyal Legion, Indianapolis, Ind., books.....	2 00
Mch. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	3 29
Mch. 23, '98.	Mrs. M. Perley-Martin, Ottawa, Canada, book...	50
Mch. 23, '98.	Publishers' Weekly, New York, book.....	3 50
Mch. 23, '98.	Mrs. J. S. Ritson, Columbus, Ohio, books.....	50 00
Mch. 23, '98.	Pierre-Georges Roy, Levis, Canada, book.....	2 12
Mch. 23, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book.....	1 75
Mch. 23, '98.	T. M. Thorpe, New York, books.....	18 50
Mch. 23, '98.	University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, book...	1 12
Mch. 30, '98.	Arch. Inst. of Amer. (Wis. Soc.), Madison, pubs.	10 00
Mch. 30, '98.	Cleveland Public Library, book.....	5 00
Mch. 30, '98.	G. P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y., book.....	3 00
Mch. 30, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage.....	2 50
Mch. 30, '98.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 48
Mch. 30, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Mch. 30, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Mch. 30, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Mch. 30, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
Mch. 30, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Mch. 30, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Apr. 14, '98.	Avril Printing Co., Phila., book.....	1 25
Apr. 14, '98.	William Briggs, Toronto, Canada, books.....	3 14
Apr. 14, '98.	Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Cambridge, books.....	6 00
Apr. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	59 36
Apr. 14, '98.	Maine Bugle, Rockland, Me., books.....	5 50
Apr. 14, '98.	New England Pub. Co., Boston, book.....	1 50
Apr. 26, '98.	J. D. Caldwell, Knoxville, Tenn., book.....	2 00
Apr. 26, '98.	Henry E. Legler, Milw., book.....	2 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	22 56
Apr. 26, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	43 02
Apr. 26, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	124 83
Apr. 26, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Apr. 26, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Apr. 26, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00

Apr. 26, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	\$20 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services..	16 66
May 11, '98.	Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, books.....	8 45
May 11, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	1 45
May 11, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	2 50
May 11, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	41 62
May 11, '98.	Morton, Bliss & Co., New York, pubs.....	5 00
May 11, '98.	Dana C. Munro, Phila., pubs.....	1 00
May 25, '98.	W. S. Armorer, Harrisburg, Pa., books.....	8 95
May 25, '98.	Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., book.....	1 10
May 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	7 06
May 25, '98.	G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, books.....	8 00
May 25, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	26 99
May 25, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
May 25, '98.	Mary S. Foster, Madison, services.....	15 00
May 25, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
May 25, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
May 25, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
June 10, '98.	F. W. Arthur, Madison, services.....	21 00
June 10, '98.	H. H. Bennett, Kilbourn City, pictures.....	6 00
June 10, '98.	Mitchell Constant, Madison, book	2 00
June 10, '98.	Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books	5 00
June 10, '98.	Nathan Gould, Portland, Me., books.....	2 00
June 10, '98.	Arnold H. Harris, Holmesburg, Pa., book	3 00
June 10, '98.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 48
June 10, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	10 18
June 10, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	1 67
June 10, '98.	B. L. Morgan, Janesville, book	12 00
June 10, '98.	G. A. Ogle & Co., Chicago, book	7 50
June 10, '98.	Old Corner Book Store, Springfield, Mass., books	14 98
June 10, '98.	F. C. Pierce, Chicago, book.....	7 50
June 10, '98.	B. F. Stevens, London, Eng., book.....	22 00
June 27, '98.	H. M. Burt, Springfield, Mass., books.....	5 00
June 27, '98.	Anna R. des Cognets, Lexington, Ky., book.....	3 00
June 27, '98.	Colonial Society of Pa., Phila., book	5 00
June 27, '98.	Helman-Taylor Co., Cleveland, book	5 00
June 27, '98.	I. C. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	4 10
June 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	4 63
June 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	5 75
June 27, '98.	G. F. Tudor Sherwood, London, Eng., books....	4 25
June 27, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
June 27, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
June 27, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	15 00
June 27, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
June 27, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
June 28, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services	52 63
June 28, '98.	Hu Maxwell, Beverly, W. Va., book	2 00
July 20, '98.	Amer. Ass'n Adv. of Science, Salem, Mass., book	1 87
July 20, '98.	Keeley, Neckerman & Kessenich, Madison, sup- plies	2 80
July 20, '98.	Carll A. Lewis, Elliott, Conn., book	2 00
July 20, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	11 24
July 20, '98.	S. J. Lyon, Madison, book.....	1 50
July 20, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, book.....	1 25
July 20, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. and supt., travel	64 98
July 20, '98.	I. S. Bradley, lib'n and asst. supt, travel	58 55
July 27, '98.	D. Appleton & Co., Chicago, book	6 00
July 27, '98.	The Book Shop, Chicago, books	4 50
July 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	8 24
July 27, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
July 27, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00

July 27, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	\$50 00
July 27, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
July 27, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Aug. 3, '98.	Hayes, Cooke & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 58
Aug. 3, '98.	Sound Currency Committee, N. Y., books.....	5 10
Aug. 3, '98.	James T. White & Co., N. Y., book.....	8 00
Aug. 3, '98.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	8 13
Aug. 31, '98.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 80
Aug. 31, '98.	E. R. Curtiss, Madison, pictures.....	1 00
Aug. 31, '98.	C. M. Dengler, Madison, services.....	1 00
Aug. 31, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage.....	6 00
Aug. 31, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, book.....	5 00
Aug. 31, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	23 48
Aug. 31, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	4 50
Aug. 31, '98.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., book.....	2 35
Aug. 31, '98.	C. L. Roper, High Point, N. C., book.....	1 50
Aug. 31, '98.	S. C. Stuntz, Madison, services.....	19 65
Aug. 31, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Aug. 31, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Aug. 31, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Aug. 31, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Aug. 31, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
Sept. 14, '98.	Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, O., book.....	2 70
Sept. 14, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	11 30
Sept. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	6 82
Sept. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 10
Sept. 14, '98.	L. N. Thompson, Louisville, Ky., book.....	3 75
Sept. 28, '98.	Amer. Econ. Ass'n, Ithaca, N. Y., pubs.....	3 00
Sept. 28, '98.	Amer. Hist Ass'n, N. Y., pubs.....	3 00
Sept. 28, '98.	C. G. Chamberlayne, Richmond, Va., book.....	3 00
Sept. 28, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	3 23
Sept. 28, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	9 68
Sept. 28, '98.	Stella D. Gregg, Hamilton, Ill., book.....	3 00
Sept. 28, '98.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 00
Sept. 28, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 19
Sept. 28, '98.	W. G. MacFarlane, St. John, N. B., book.....	50
Sept. 28, '98.	Publishers' Weekly, N. Y., book.....	2 00
Sept. 28, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Sept. 28, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Sept. 28, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Sept. 28, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Sept. 28, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services.....	18 33
Sept. 28, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
Oct. 12, '98.	T. A. Bingham, Washington, book.....	9 00
Oct. 12, '98.	L. H. Bunnell, Homer, Minn., book.....	2 00
Oct. 12, '98.	Catholic Hist. Pub. Co., Milwaukee, book.....	5 00
Oct. 12, '98.	Egypt Expl. Fund, Boston, book.....	5 00
Oct. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, book.....	2 25
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, freight.....	26 75
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	9 22
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	31 26
Oct. 12, '98.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books.....	6 65
Oct. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	29 81
Oct. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	66 62
Oct. 12, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. and supt., travel.....	16 80
Oct. 26, '98.	J. R. Berryman, Madison, books.....	10 00
Oct. 26, '98.	Funk & Wagnalls Co., N. Y., books.....	6 05
Oct. 26, '98.	Blanch Harper, Madison, pictures.....	3 75
Oct. 26, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	15 71
Oct. 26, '98.	Macmillan Company, N. Y., book.....	1 46
Oct. 26, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00

Oct. 26, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	\$50 00
Oct. 26, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Oct. 26, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Oct. 26, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
Oct. 26, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66
Nov. 23, '98.	I. S. Bradley, lib'n, supplies	3 70
Nov. 23, '98.	A. S. Clark, N. Y., periodicals	3 71
Nov. 23, '98.	Le Cultivateur, Marlboro, Mass., books	1 00
Nov. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	10 53
Nov. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	2 36
Nov. 23, '98.	G. E. Warner, Minneapolis, Minn., books	25 55
Nov. 23, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	7 23
Nov. 23, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Nov. 23, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Nov. 23, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
Nov. 23, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66

\$5,309 03

REPORT OF DRAPER HOMESTEAD COMMITTEE.

Hon. Curators of the State Historical Society: Your Draper Homestead Committee has briefly to make its annual report as follows; for 1898:

There has been collected for rent of premises		\$352 00
Paid for insurance.	\$12 00	
Paid for repairs made.....	181 97	
	<hr/>	193 97
Leaving a balance in the treasury of.....		<hr/> \$158 03

The premises being somewhat old, and much out of repair, it was deemed necessary, in order to secure good tenants or a purchaser, that the property should be put in a fair condition. The house, inside and out, the walks, drains, sewer connections, etc., have been put in such repair as economy would permit, and is now offered for rental or sale. Vouchers for the above are with the treasurer, and are by him duly accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

N. B. VAN SLYKE, Chm.,

R. G. THWAITES.

December 8, 1898.

REPORT OF STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.

To the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: By chapter 289, laws of 1897, the undersigned, appointed by that law State Commissioner for the purposes therein stated, is required to make an annual report to the State Historical Society of his action as such commissioner. In accordance with this requirement, an annual report was submitted Dec. 1, 1897, and published in the printed proceedings of the State Historical Society at its forty-fifth annual meeting, held Dec. 9th and 16th, 1897. That report covered the action of the commissioner in the preliminary work of awakening interest in the then approaching semi-centennial celebration of statehood. In this report it remains to make up the record of the results of the efforts outlined in the former report.

Under the general direction of Hon. Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society, and the cordial co-operation of the several gentlemen called to act upon the consulting and advisory board, the measures for organizing local historical societies, interesting individuals and communities in historical inquiry, and promoting historical study and research in public schools, was carried on with as much diversity and effectiveness as the time at command warranted. As stated in the report of 1897, circulars were extensively distributed, outlining the method and scope of historical papers to be prepared by pupils in the public schools; and measures were taken for holding an educational meeting in Madison, in connection with the semi-centennial celebration. Hon. W. C. Whitford, president of Milton College, and ex-state superintendent of Wisconsin, was invited to deliver the principal address, and other addresses were made by Prof. J. W. Stearns, of the State University, President D. McGregor, of the Platteville State Normal School, President Albert Salisbury, of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Prof. J. D. Butler, of Madison, and Hon. W. H. Chandler, State inspector of high schools. This meeting attracted a fine assembly of leading educators and citizens from various localities in the State. President C. K. Adams, of the State University,

presided at the meeting. The addresses were able, timely, and appropriate, and commanded interest, attention, and high commendation. The papers presented at this meeting have been deposited in the archives of the State Historical Society.

A set of diaries, kept by ex-Senator George A. Jenkins, of Fort Atkinson, extending through more than forty years, ending in 1896, has been procured from his daughters, Mrs. Emma J. Curtis, of Milwaukee, and Miss Agnes Jenkins, of Sturgeon Bay, and presented to the State Historical Society. Mr. Jenkins was a member of the legislature from Calumet county during the period of the civil war. He was formerly a resident of New York, and some of the earlier diaries appear to have been written while a resident of that state. One feature of these diaries is, that they contain a record of the temperature, marked morning, noon, and evening, each day for more than forty years.

As a result of the interest awakened, and attention secured on the part of public schools, the following list of papers prepared by pupils have reached the commissioner, for deposit with the State Historical Society, a day having been designated on or before which such papers were to be placed in his custody for that purpose:

1. History of the Public Schools of Beaver Dam.
2. Six papers from school districts of six different towns in Sauk County, Wis.
3. History of the town of Richfield, Washington County, Wis.
4. History of the Dodgeville school, Dodgeville, Iowa County, Wis.
5. A series of six papers, entitled as follows, all relating to interests and places in Lincoln County, Wis.: (a) Lumber in Lincoln County; (b) History of the Schools of the City of Merrill; (c) History of Country Schools; (d) History of the Indians; (e) Political History of Lincoln County; (f) Military History of Lincoln County.
6. A Glimpse of the History of Wauwatosa.
7. Brief History of Manitowoc County.
8. A series of twelve papers entitled: "Early Settlers of Beloit."
9. A series of twelve papers entitled: "History of Beloit College."
10. A series of seventeen papers upon the history of towns, cities, and school districts in Dane County, Wisconsin,

These, however, represent but a small part of the results obtained by the efforts. To my personal knowledge, many schools

and committees observed the day for the presentation of papers and addresses, which have not reported to the commissioner. The educational value of these efforts has been very great. Many individuals and communities have been initiated into wise and effective means of securing, treating, and preserving data of historic value, and many localities rich in historic lore have been discovered. Thus, a wide, productive, and fascinating field for research and for promoting literary activity has been opened. The possibilities in these directions are almost without limit; and if these initiatory and preparatory exercises are followed by wise and judicious subsequent treatment, the advantages to the schools, to the state, and to the interests of historical research, must be apparent and pronounced.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Q. EMERY,
Commissioner.

Madison, Wis., Dec. 1, 1898.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

[INCLUDING DUPLICATES.]

Givers	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Adams, Mrs. Mary M., Madison.....	1	.....
Adler, S. L., Rochester, N. Y.....	.....	1
Albert, G. D., Latrobe, Pa.....	2	.....
Allen, Mrs. Margaret A., Madison.....	4	.....
American antiquarian society, Worcester, Mass.....	2	.....
anti-vivisection society, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
board of commis. for foreign missions, Bos- ton.....	2	.....
book company, New York.....	1	.....
congregational association, Boston.....	.....	1
economic association, New York.....	3	.....
geographical society, New York.....	4	.....
missionary society, New York.....	1	.....
museum of natural history, New York.....	2	1
numismatic and archaeological society, New York.....	.....	1
philosophical society, Philadelphia.....	5	1
Amherst college, Amherst, Mass.....	.....	1
Anderson, Mrs. J. S., Manitowoc.....	.....	1
Anderson, Rasmus B., Madison*.....	7	22
Andover (Mass.) theological seminary.....	.....	1
Andrews, Byron, New York.....	3	.....
Andrews, C. C., St. Paul, Minn.....	1	.....
Andrews, Frank D., Vineland, N. J.....	.....	3
Anthony, Miss Susan B., Rochester, N. Y.....	1	11
Armour institute, Chicago.....	1	.....
Augustana college, Rock Island, Ill.....	.....	1
Austin, John O., Providence, R. I.....	1	.....
Ayer, Edward E., Chicago.....	3	.....
Ayer, Mrs. Edward E., Chicago.....	1	.....
Bain, James, Jr., Toronto.....	2	2
Baker, Miss Florence E., Madison.....	2	20
Baker, Mrs. H. T., Berlin.....	1	.....
Baltimore Sun.....	1	.....
Barnard, C. H., Lincon, Nebr.....	1	.....
Barnes, Charles R., Madison.....	36	.....
Barnwell, James G., Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Beauchamp, William M., Baldwinsville, N. Y.....	.....	1
Beckwith, A. C. and E. S., Elkhorn.....	92	225
Beddall, M. M., Madison.....	4	.....
Beer, William, New Orleans.....	.....	1
Beloit college, Beloit.....	.....	2
Bent, Allen H., Boston.....	1	1
Berryman, John R., Madison.....	1	.....
Bestor, O. P., Evansville.....	7	.....
Birtwell, Charles W., Boston.....	.....	1
Blair, Miss E. H., Madison.....	1	27

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Blair, Thomas B., Neenah.....	5	125
Blomberg, Anton, Stockholm, Sweden.....	2	....
Blount, Mrs. Alice S., Milton.....	1	7
Board of international exchanges, Sydney, N. S. W.....	1	....
Boston associated charities.....		2
board of overseers of the poor.....		1
city auditor.....	1	....
home for aged women.....		1
public library.....	1	3
young men's christian union.....	1	....
Bowdoin college, Brunswick, Me.....		5
library.....		42
Boycott, Walter J., La Crosse.....	1	....
Boyle, David, Toronto.....		2
Bradley, I. S., Madison.....	3	10
Braley, Mrs. A. E., Madison.....	89	42
Bramwood, J. W., Indianapolis, Ind.....		1
Brant, S. A., Madison.....	1	....
Brigham, Willard I. T., Chicago.....		1
British Columbia, library of the legislative assembly, Victoria.....	2	6
Brooklyn (N. Y.) civil service commission.....	1	....
health department.....	1	....
public library.....		1
Brophy, Thomas C., Boston.....		3
Brown, Francis H., Boston.....		3
Brown, Frank G., Madison.....	10	30
Brown university, Providence, R. I.....		1
Brymner, Douglas, Ottawa.....	1	....
Buffalo county board of supervisors.....		1
Buffalo (N. Y.) historical society.....		3
public library.....		4
Bulger, A. E., Montreal.....	1	9
Bunker Hill monument association, Boston.....	16	8
Burdick, Charles W., Cheyenne, Wyo.....		1
Bureau of American republics, Washington, D. C.....	11	....
Burnett county board of supervisors.....		1
Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, Ohio.....	24	....
Butler, E. H., & Co., Philadelphia.....	1	....
Butler, James D., Madison.....	3	3
Butte (Mont.) free public library.....	2	....
California insurance commissioner, San Francisco.....	2	2
university, Berkeley.....		4
Calkins, F. W., Wyoming.....	3	....
Calvert, R., La Crosse.....		1
Cambridge (Mass.) public library.....	2	5
Camp, Arthur K., Milwaukee.....	1	....
Camp, D. N., Hartford, Conn.....	1	....
Camp, H. H., Milwaukee.....	1	....
Campbell, John, Westminster, Ont.....		4
Campbell, Mrs. M. L., Neenah.....	6	....
Canada auditor general, Ottawa.....	1	....
department of agriculture, Ottawa.....	5	....
government statistician, Ottawa.....	1	....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Canadian institute, Toronto.....	11	3
Carnegie free library, Alleghany, Pa.		1
Cedar Rapids (Iowa) free public library.....		1
Chamberlin, Thomas C., Chicago.....		1
Chandler, W. H., Madison.....	6	
Charleston (S. C.) mayor.....	6	
Cheever, R. W., Clinton.....		1
Chicago & Northwestern railway company.....		6
board of trade.....	1	
bureau of associated charities.....		1
college of law.....		1
historical society.....		1
public library.....		1
sanitary district.....		42
sunset club.....		6
university.....	1	
Cincinnati public library.....		1
Clark, W. B., Baltimore, Md.....	1	
Claypole, E. W., Akron, Ohio.....		1
Cleveland (Ohio) city clerk.....	3	
public library.....		3
Cochran, J. W., Madison.....	1	
Cole, George W., New York.....		1
Collie, Mrs. R. J., Merrill.....		2
Colorado insurance department, Denver.....	5	
secretary of state, Denver.....	5	
state board of charities, Denver.....		5
state historical and natural history society, Denver.....		6
state penitentiary, Canon City.....	1	
Columbia historical society, Washington, D. C.....		1
university, N. Y.....	1	2
geological department.....		4
Concordia college, Milwaukee.....		1
Congdon, G. E., Waterman, Ill.....		4
Connecticut bureau of labor statistics, Norwich.....	1	
historical society, Hartford.....		1
Conover, Miss Edith, Madison.....	34	18
Conover, Mrs. F. K., Madison.....	16	
Cornell university library, Ithaca, N. Y.....	1	1
Coues, Elliott, Washington, D. C.....	1	
Courtenay, William A., Newry, S. C.....	2	1
Crawford county board of supervisors.....		1
Crisp, F. A., London, Eng.....	1	
Crofton, F. Blake, Halifax, N. S.....		1
Cudmore, Patrick, Faribault, Minn.....		1
Custer, Mrs. Elizabeth B., New York.....		1
Dane county board of supervisors.....		1
Daniells, Mrs. W. W., Madison.....	3	3
Dante society, Cambridge, Mass.....		1
Dartmouth college, Hanover, N. H.....	1	1
Daughters of the American revolution, general society, N. Y.....	1	
Davis, Andrew M., Cambridge, Mass.....		1

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Dawson, S. E., Ottawa	1	.....
Dayton (Ohio) public library.....	.....	1
Dedham (Mass.) historical society.....	2	.....
Delaware historical society, Wilmington.....	.....	2
Democrat printing company, Madison.....	5	.....
Denissen, Christian, Detroit, Mich.....	1	.....
Detroit (Mich.) public library.....	.....	1
Devron, Gustave, New Orleans .....	.....	2
District of Columbia health department, Washington..	.....	1
Dodge, Joseph T., Madison.....	3	3
Dodge county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Dover (N. H.) public library. ....	.....	1
Draper estate	1	.....
Drew theological seminary, Madison, N. J.,.....	.....	1
Dunn county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Durham, Cora B., Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Durrett, Reuben T., Louisville, Ky.....	1	.....
Eames, Wilberforce, New York	1	.....
Egypt exploration fund, London.....	2	.....
Eimon, Chris., Superior.....	1	.....
Elisha Mitchell scientific society, Chapel Hill, N. C....	.....	1
Ellis, Mrs. Mary, Peshtigo.....	1	.....
Ely, Richard T., Madison*.....	.....	4
Emery, J. Q., Madison.....	2	16
Enoch Pratt free library, Baltimore, Md.....	.....	2
Essex institute, Salem, Mass.....	6	.....
Evans, Clinton B., Chicago.....	1	.....
Evening Post publishing company, New York.....	2	.....
Evening Telegram, West Superior.....	.....	16
Fairmount Park art association, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Fay, L. M., Madison.....	55	6
Field Columbian museum, Chicago.....	.....	3
Finley, W. W., Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
Fitchburg (Mass.) historical society	1	.....
Florence county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Foote, Allen R., Takoma Park, D. C.....	.....	1
Forbes library, Northampton, Mass.....	.....	1
Foster, Mrs. M. C., Madison.....	2	.....
Frankenburger, D. B., Madison*.....	.....	.....
Franklin institute, Philadelphia.....	4	.....
Frederick, William, Leavenworth, Kans.....	1	.....
Freeman, John C., Madison.....	1	.....
Free society library, San Francisco.....	.....	11
Friedenwald, Herbert, Washington, D. C.....	.....	1
Friends' yearly meeting, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Froseth, John, Washburn.....	.....	1
Gagnon, Ernest, Quebec.....	1	.....
Gale, Mrs. J. S., Greeley, Colo.....	.....	1
Ganong, William F., Northampton, Mass.....	.....	3
Gates, Horatio Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Georgia university, Atlanta.....	1	.....
Girard college, Philadelphia.....	1	.....

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets,
Goddard, Louis A., Madison.....	1	.....
Goemaere, Joseph, Brussels, Belgium.....	1	.....
Goodwin, John S., Chicago.....	1	.....
Goold, Nathan, Portland, Me.....	.....	6
Gould, S. C., Manchester, N. H.....	.....	1
Grand army of the republic, Wisconsin dep't.....	1	2
Grant county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Graves, Francis P., Laramie, Wyo.....	.....	2
Graves, S. H., Racine.....	1	.....
Green, Samuel A., Boston.....	14	171
Green, Samuel S., Worcester, Mass.....	.....	1
Green Bay, Kellogg library.....	1	.....
Green county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Green Lake county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Grosvenor public library, Buffalo, N. Y.....	.....	8
Guiding Star publishing house, Chicago.....	1	27
Guinn, J. M., Los Angeles, Cal.....	.....	1
Hahnemann hospital, Chicago.....	1	.....
Hamel, T. E., Quebec.....	.....	5
Hamilton college library, Clinton, N. Y.....	.....	2
Hamilton (Ont.) public library.....	.....	1
Hancock, William S., Trenton, N. J.....	1	.....
Hanna, H. H., Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	2
Harris, D., St. Catherines, Ont.....	1	.....
Hartford (Conn.) city clerk.....	1	.....
Harvard medical alumni association, Boston.....	.....	1
university, Cambridge, Mass.....	2	.....
library.....	.....	2
physical geography laboratory ..	.....	2
Haskins, Charles H., Madison.....	.....	1
Hastings, Hugh, Albany, N. Y.....	.....	1
Hastings, S. D., Green Bay.....	.....	1
Hawkins, Rush C., New York.....	1	.....
Hayes, Charles W., Phelps, N. Y.....	1	.....
Hayes, Everett A., Eden Vale, Cal.....	.....	9
Heidelberg university.....	6	.....
Helena (Mont.) public library.....	.....	2
Hinsdale, Burke A., Ann Arbor, Mich.....	.....	2
Hinton, John W., Milwaukee.....	.....	656
Historical and philosophical society of Ohio, Cincinnati.....	.....	1
Historical and scientific society of Manitoba, Winnipeg.....	.....	3
Hoe, Richard, Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Holland society of New York.....	1	.....
Horne, Samuel B., Hartford, Conn.....	4	.....
Hosmer, James K., Minneapolis, Minn.....	.....	1
Huling, R. G., Cambridge, Mass.....	.....	9
Hunter, W. H., Steubenville, Ohio.....	1	3
Hutcheson, David, Washington, D. C.....	.....	2
Illinois auditor of public accounts, Springfield.....	.....	4
bureau of labor statistics, Springfield.....	1	.....
factory inspectors, Springfield.....	.....	1
insurance superintendent, Springfield.....	1	.....
railroad and warehouse commission, Springfield.....	4	.....
society of engineers and surveyors, Peoria.....	.....	1

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Illinois state board of charities, Springfield.....	1	.....
state treasurer, Springfield.....	2	2
state university, Champaign.....	4	22
library.....	3	.....
Indiana academy of science, Indianapolis.....	1	.....
auditor of state, Indianapolis.....	8	.....
board of state charities, Indianapolis.....	3	12
department of geology, Indianapolis.....	1	.....
Indian rights association, Philadelphia.....	.....	2
Instituto geologico de Mexico, City of Mexico.....	1	.....
Iowa auditor of state, Des Moines.....	2	.....
bureau of labor, Des Moines.....	1	.....
geological survey, Des Moines.....	1	.....
historical society, Des Moines.....	1	1
masonic library, Cedar Rapids.....	1	1
railroad commissioner, Des Moines.....	1	.....
state library, Des Moines.....	1	.....
university, Iowa City.....	.....	1
Ishikubo, G., Madison.....	.....	21
Jackson, Miss A. B., North Adams, Mass.....	.....	1
Jackson county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
James, Edmund J., Chicago.....	.....	1
Jefferson county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Jefferson high school library.....	.....	1
Jersey City (N. J.) free public library.....	.....	3
Jewish historical society, Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
John Crerar library, Chicago.....	.....	3
Johns Hopkins university, Baltimore.....	3	.....
Johnston, John, Milwaukee.....	1	1
Johnston, William P., New Orleans.....	1	.....
Jones, A. E., Montreal.....	1	2
Jones, J. A. Kinghorn, San Francisco.....	.....	6
Jones, John P., Columbus, Ohio.....	1	.....
Jones, S. M., Toledo, Ohio.....	.....	1
Jordan, David S., Palo Alto, Cal.....	.....	1
Kansas board of railroad commissioners, Topeka.....	1	.....
bureau of labor, Topeka.....	1	.....
secretary of state, Topeka.....	7	.....
state board of health, Topeka.....	12	.....
state historical society, Topeka.....	.....	1
state penitentiary, Topeka.....	1	.....
university, Lawrence.....	10	1
Kansas City (Mo.) public library.....	.....	1
Kemper Hall, Kenosha.....	.....	1
Kennett, W. L., La Crosse.....	58	.....
Kentucky auditor of public accounts, Frankfort.....	9	.....
bureau of agriculture, labor and statistics, Louisville.....	1	.....
railroad commission, Frankfort.....	4	.....
Kidd, Edward I., Madison.....	1	.....
Kilmer, C. H., Breesport, N. Y.....	1	.....
Knowles, W. P., Richmond, Va.....	.....	1
Kuhn, Henry, New York.....	.....	2
Labor exchange association, Independence, Mo.....	1	8

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
La Boule, Joseph S., St Francis.....	.....	1
La Crosse city clerk.....	.....	2
Ladd, W. P., Mineral Point.....	.....	6
Lafayette county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Lake Erie and Ohio River ship canal company, Pittsburg.....	1	.....
Lake Mohonk (N. Y.) arbitration conference.....	.....	1
Lambing, A. A., Pittsburg, Pa.....	.....	1
Langlade county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Laval university, Quebec.....	3	.....
Lawrence, Philip, Pierre, S. D.....	.....	1
Lawrence university, Appleton.....	.....	3
quarterly, Lawrence, Kans.....	.....	54
Legal Intelligencer, Philadelphia.....	1	.....
Legler, Henry E., Milwaukee.....	14	92
Leipziger, Henry M., New York.....	.....	1
Leland Stanford, Jr., university, Palo Alto, Cal.....	.....	8
Libby, C. A., Evansville.....	.....	1
Libby, Orin G., Madison.....	3	.....
Lindsay, Crawford, Quebec.....	5	37
Lord, Eleanor L., Baltimore.....	1	.....
Louisiana adjutant general, Baton Rouge.....	1	.....
Lovejoy, A. P., Janesville.....	1	.....
Lyman, F. H., Kenosha.....	7	.....
McConachie, Lauros G., Madison.....	1	.....
McDonough, John T., Albany, N. Y.....	1	.....
MacFarlane, W. G., St. John, N. B.....	.....	1
McGill university library, Montreal.....	.....	12
McMaster, S. W., Rock Island, Ill.....	1	.....
McMillan, James, Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
MacMillan & Co., New York.....	4	.....
McMynn, J. G., Madison.....	4	.....
Madison city water works.....	.....	1
Main, Willett S., Madison.....	.....	1
Maine bureau of industrial labor statistics, Augusta...	1	.....
first cavalry association, Rockland.....	4	.....
state board of health, Augusta.....	4	.....
state library, Augusta.....	3	.....
Maltz, George L., Lansing, Mich.....	1	.....
Manchester (Eng.) literary and philosophical society...	8	.....
Manitoba Gazette, Winnipeg.....	2	.....
Manitowoc county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Marquette college, Milwaukee.....	.....	1
Martin, Charles R., Tiffin, Ohio.....	2	.....
Maryland historical society, Baltimore.....	.....	1
Massachusetts adjutant general, Boston.....	11	.....
auditor, Boston.....	7	.....
board of commiss. of savings banks, Bos- ton.....	2	.....
board of education, Boston.....	4	.....
board of health, Boston.....	2	.....
bureau of statistics of labor, Boston...	4	.....
civil service commission, Boston.....	.....	1
commissioners of prisons, Boston..	12	1
commissioners of public records, Boston	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS -- Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Massachusetts gas and electric light commissioners, Boston.....	3	.....
general hospital, Boston.....	.....	1
governor, Boston.....	.....	8
highway commission, Boston.	1	.....
horticultural society, Boston... ..	.....	4
institute of technology, Boston.....	2	.....
railroad commissioners, Boston.....	1	.....
school for feeble-minded, Waverley.....	.....	5
secretary of commonwealth, Boston....	3	.....
secretary of state, Boston.....	1	.....
state board of arbitration, Boston.....	2	.....
state board of health, Boston.	1	.....
state board of lunacy and charity, Bos ton	1	.....
state library, Boston.....	16	4
tax commissioner, Boston.....	22	.....
Mead, Edwin D., Boston.....	.....	14
Meyer, B. H., Madison.....	.....	1
Michigan adjutant general, Lansing.....	3	6
auditor general, Lansing.....	6	.....
commissioner of railroads, Lansing.....	1	.....
insurance department, Lansing.....	1	.....
labor bureau, Lansing.	2	.....
state agricultural college, Lansing.. . . .	1	.....
state board of corrections and charities, Lan- sing.....	2	.....
state board of education, Lansing.....	.....	4
state board of health, Lansing.....	3	.....
state library, Lansing.....	36	.....
superintendent of public instruction, Lansing	3	.....
university, Ann Arbor.....	2	2
Military order loyal legion U. S., California commandery .....	.....	24
Iowa commandery.....	.....	1
Kansas commandery.....	.....	11
Missouri commandery.....	.....	2
Ohio commandery.....	.....	4
Oregon commandery.....	.....	1
Wis. commandery.....	.....	2
Milton college, Milton.....	.....	1
Milwaukee board of civil service commissioners.....	.....	1
college endowment association.....	.....	1
department of health.....	1	.....
mayor.....	1	.....
national exchange bank.....	.....	1
old settlers' club.....	.....	1
Parkman club.....	.....	2
public library.....	2	9
social economics club.....	.....	1
west side high school	1	.....
west side literary club.....	.....	20
county board of supervisors.....	1	.....
Minneapolis (Minn.) public library.....	.....	1
Minnesota commissioner of labor, St. Paul.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Minnesota geological and natural history survey, Minneapolis	7	.....
historical society, St. Paul .....	.....	2
railroad and warehouse commission, St. Paul	2	1
state board of charities and corrections, St. Paul	5	18
state treasurer, St. Paul	1	.....
Missouri botanical garden, St. Louis .....	.....	1
commissioner of labor, Jefferson City	1	.....
state university, Columbia	1	.....
superintendent of insurance, St. Louis	10	.....
Mitchell, John L., Milwaukee	14	60
Montana bureau of agriculture, labor and industry, Helena	2	.....
inspector of mines, Helena .....	.....	1
Montreal Gazette .....	.....	1
Morris, Mrs. Charles S., Berlin	1	1
Morris, Howard, Milwaukee	1	2
Morris, Mrs. W. A. P., Madison	1	19
Mueller, Adolf, Chicago	1	.....
Mueller, Rudolf, Alma .....	.....	1
Mylin, Amos H., Harrisburg, Pa.	1	.....
Mylrea, W. H., Madison .....	.....	3
National educational association, Chicago	1	.....
National primary election league, Chicago .....	.....	1
Naughtin, J. M., Madison	1	.....
Nebraska commissioner of labor, Lincoln	1	.....
state historical society, Lincoln	1	1
university, Lincoln	1	3
agricultural experiment station. ....	.....	4
Newark (N. J.) free public library .....	.....	1
Newberry library, Chicago .....	.....	2
New England society in New York	1	2
New Hampshire board of railroad commiss'rs, Concord	1	.....
historical society, Concord .....	.....	1
Hew Haven colony historical society, New Haven	1	.....
New Jersey adjutant general, Trenton	1	.....
bureau of statistics, Trenton	1	.....
department of banking and insurance, Trenton	2	.....
state board of assessors, Trenton	5	.....
state board of health, Trenton	2	.....
New Mexico bar association, Santa Fé. ....	.....	1
New Orleans comptroller .....	.....	1
New York, city, charity organization society	123	85
children's aid society .....	.....	1
free circulating library .....	.....	32
league for social service	2	19
mercantile library .....	.....	2
genealogical and biographical society .....	.....	3
society of order of founders and patriots of America .....	.....	2
state, banking department, Albany	1	.....
board of health, Albany	2	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
New York, state, board of mediation and arbitration, Albany	1	.....
board of railroad commissioners, Al- bany	2	.....
board of state charities, Albany.....	9	.....
bureau of statistics of labor, Albany.....	5	.....
charities aid association, New York.....		2
civil service commission, Albany.....	1	.....
college of forestry, Ithaca.....		1
library, Albany.....	8	18
Newspapers and periodicals received from publishers..	438	.....
North Carolina commissioner of labor statistics, Ra- leigh.....	1	.....
North Dakota agricultural experiment station, Fargo.....		4
commissioner of agriculture and labor, Bismarck.....		2
commissioner of railroads, Bismarck...	1	.....
state examiner, Bismarck.....		1
Northampton (Mass.) lunatic hospital.....		1
Northrop, B. B., Racine.....		2
Northwestern university library, Evanston, Ill.....	1	1
Nunns, Miss Annie A., Madison.....	1	.....
Oakley, Mrs. D. A., Madison.....	5	2
Oakley, F. W., Madison.....		4
Oberlin college library, Oberlin, Ohio.....	2	13
Ohio archaeological and historical society, Columbus..		3
auditor of state, Columbus	1	.....
department of inspection, Norwalk.....	1	.....
historical and philosophical society, Cincinnati..		1
insurance department, Columbus.....	5	.....
secretary of state, Columbus.....	2	.....
state board of charities, Columbus.....		3
Olds, Mrs. Irene, Madison.....	49	.....
O'Leary, Daniel, Albany, N. Y.....	1	.....
Oneida historical society, Utica, N. Y.....		3
Olson, Julius E., Madison.....	1	.....
Ontario education department, Toronto.....		2
historical society, Toronto.....		2
Oshkosh Chio class.....		1
Ott, J. H., Watertown.....		5
Ottawa (Can.) literary and scientific society.....		1
Paine, Nathaniel, Worcester, Mass.....		1
Palmer, Mrs. C. F.....	1	.....
Paulett, John W., Nashville, Tenn.....	1	.....
Peabody institute library, Baltimore.....	1	1
museum, Cambridge, Mass.....		2
Peck, Mrs. E. H. M., Milwaukee.....		9
Pennsylvania board of public charities, Philadelphia..	3	.....
commissioner of banking, Harrisburg...	5	.....
department of public instruction, Har- risburg.....	4	.....
factory inspector, Harrisburg.....	4	1
genealogical society, Philadelphia.....		2
German society, Philadelphia.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS - Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Pennsylvania governor, Harrisburg.....		2
insurance department, Harrisburg.....	1	.....
secretary of internal affairs, Harrisburg.....	1	.....
state board of health, Harrisburg.....	5	.....
university, Philadelphia.....	2	.....
Perkins inst. and Mass. school for the blind, Boston...	.....	1
Peoria (Ill.) public library.....	.....	3
Perry, Alfred T., Hartford, Conn.....	.....	1
Perry, Miss Anne, Davenport, Iowa.....	1	.....
Philadelphia academy of natural sciences.....	.....	1
city clerk.....	20	.....
free library.....	.....	2
Jewish foster home.....	.....	1
library company.....	.....	1
mercantile library.....	.....	4
Picard, Alphonse & Son, Paris.....	.....	1
Pocumtuck valley memorial association, Deerfield, Mass.....	1	.....
Polk county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
clerk, Osceola.....	.....	1
Porter, E. G., Boston.....	.....	3
Porter, Robert P., New York.....	1	2
Power, J. L., Jackson, Miss.....	1	.....
Pratt, Franklin S., Boston.....	1	.....
Pratt institute free library, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	.....	1
Presbyterian historical society, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Presson, George R., San Francisco.....	.....	1
Princeton (N. J.) university.....	4	.....
Protestant Episcopal church in U. S., diocese of New York.....	1	.....
Providence (R. I.) athenaeum.....	.....	2
public library.....	2	2
Purdue university, La Fayette, Ind.....	.....	1
Putnam, W. C., Davenport, Iowa.....	.....	1
Quebec commissioner of lands, forests and fisheries*.....	.....	11
provincial secretary.....	.....	1
Rabouin, P. A., New Orleans.....	1	.....
Raineri, Salvator, Genoa, Italy.....	.....	1
Ranck, Samuel H., Baltimore.....	.....	1
Raymer, George, Madison.....	1	.....
Reform club, New York.....	1	.....
Reinsch, Paul S., Madison.....	.....	2
Reynolds library, Rochester, N. Y.....	.....	2
Rhode Island bureau of labor statistics, Providence...	1	.....
Rice, O. C., Shawano.....	1	.....
Riley, E. F., Madison.....	.....	1
Riley, Franklin L., Jackson, Miss.....	.....	1
Ripon college, Ripon.....	.....	1
Rochester (N. Y.) university library.....	.....	1
Rosenstengel, W. H., Madison.....	.....	1
Roy, Pierre G., Levis, Quebec.....	1	3
Royal society of Canada, Toronto.....	1	.....
Runke, Richard, Madison.....	.....	7

*Also maps.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Sadler, Ralph, Dorking. Eng.....	3	1
St. Croix county board of supervisors.....		1
St. Louis academy of science.....	1	
mercantile library association.....		2
St. Olaf college, Northfield, Minn.....		1
St. Paul (Minn.) associated charities.....		4
Salem (Mass.) public library.....		4
Sanborn, John B., Madison.....		1
San Francisco board of supervisors.....	4	
free public library.....	1	2
Sauerhering, E., Washington, D. C.....	1	
Schafer, Joseph, Valley City, N. D.....		1
Schaper, W. A., Madison.....	6	
Schenck, A. V. C., Madison.....		4
Sears, Lorenzo, Providence, R. I.....		1
Sellers, E. J., Philadelphia.....	1	
Seymour, Miss Lavernia, Madison*.....		
Shambaugh, Benjamin F., Iowa City, Iowa.....		3
Shawano county board of supervisors.....		1
Sheldon, Mrs. A. R., Madison.....	100	126
Sheldon, George, Deerfield, Mass.....		1
Sheldon, Miss Georgiana R., Madison.....	3	23
Sherman, L. B., Morristown, N. J.....	2	
Sherman, S. A., Stevens Point.....		1
Simmons, James, Lake Geneva.....	1	
Simons, A. M., Chicago.....		1
Smith, J. Adger, Charleston, S. C.....	1	
Smith, T. C., Ann Arbor, Mich.....	1	
Smithsonian institution, Washington, D. C.....	9	
Social democracy library, Chicago.....		1
Solberg, Thorvald, Washington, D. C.....		2
Sons of the revolution, Missouri society.....	4	
New York society.....	1	
Pennsylvania society.....		1
South Carolina historical society, Charleston.....	1	
Southern California historical society, Los Angeles.....		1
Southern history association, Richmond.....	1	
Spooner, John C., Madison.....	1	
Springfield (Mass.) city library association.....		1
Starr, Frederick, Chicago.....		3
Steensland, Halle, Madison.....	1	
Stickney, Gardner P., Milwaukee.....		1
Stockwell, Thomas B., Providence, R. I.....	1	
Stone, E. A., Lexington, Mass.....		1
Stone, William L., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.....	7	
Stout, James H., Menomonie.....	1	
Stroeve, Carl, Chicago.....		1
Sulte, Benjamin, Ottawa, Can.....		5
Swain, George B., Trenton, N. J.....	1	
Sweet, E. T., Hutchinson county, S. D.....		2
Swett, Charles E., Boston.....		3
Taney, Mary F.....	1	
Tanner, H. B., Kaukauna.....		110

*Unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Tasmanian government railways, Hobart.....	.....	1
Tennessee university, Knoxville.....	.....	1
Tenney, Daniel Kent, Madison.....	.....	2
Texas railroad company, Austin.....	1	.....
secretary of state, Austin.....	.....	2
Thomas, Kirby, Superior*.....	10	98
Thwaites, Reuben G., Madison.....	12	32
Ties, Fred., Monroe.....	.....	2
Todd, W. C., Atkinson, N. H.....	.....	1
Toronto public library.....	1	.....
Trempealeau county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Trinity college, Hartford, Conn.....	.....	1
Tucker, W. H., Indianapolis, Ind.....	.....	2
Tulane university, New Orleans.....	.....	1
Turner, A. J., Portage.....	4	1
Turner, Frederick J., Madison.....	11	38
United States board of Indian commissioners.....	1	.....
bureau of education.....	3	.....
bureau of statistics.....	6	.....
civil service commission.....	1	.....
commissioner of fish and fisheries.....	2	.....
commissioner of internal revenue.....	1	.....
commissioner of labor.....	1	1
commissioner of patents.....	1	.....
department of agriculture.....	3	18
department of interior.....	3	.....
department of state.....	11	.....
geological survey.....	6	.....
interstate commerce commission.....	2	3
life saving service.....	1	.....
light-house board.....	4	2
patent office.....	3	.....
superintendent of documents.....	346	100
treasury department.....	1	.....
war department.....	5	.....
Upsala university.....	1	.....
Usher, Ellis B., La Crosse.....	43	113
Van Cleave, James R. B., Springfield, Ill.....	2	.....
Van Vechten, Peter, Jr., Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Vance, Mrs. Frank L., Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Vermont university, Burlington.....	.....	1
Vernon county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Vilas, William F., Madison.....	18	.....
Virginia university, Charlottesville.....	.....	1
Volta bureau, Washington, D. C.....	.....	1
Wal on, J. M., Philadelphia.....	1	.....
Washburn, C. L. D., Washington, D. C.....	.....	1
Washington and Lee university, Lexington, Va.....	.....	2
Watkins, George T., Indianapolis, Ind.....	.....	1
Webster, F. B., Pepin.....	.....	1
Weeks, Mrs. A. R., Winnetka, Ill.....	.....	2
Wellesley college, Wellesley, Mass.....	.....	1

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Concluded.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Wesleyan university, Middletown, Conn.....	.....	2
Western reserve historical society, Cleveland, Ohio.....	.....	49
Whelan, Charles E., Madison.....	.....	1
Wight, W. W., Milwaukee.....	1	6
Wilder, Amos P., Madison.....	1	5
William and Mary college, Williamsburg, Va.....	.....	1
Williamson, Miss Susan, Madison.....	13	.....
Wisconsin academy of science, arts and letters, Madison	1	.....
bank examiner.....	3	.....
bureau of statistics.....	.....	2
central railroad, Milwaukee.....	.....	4
college of physicians and surgeons, Milwau-	.....	1
kee.....	.....	.....
dairymen's association.....	1	.....
farmers' institutes.....	1	.....
free library commission.....	91	82
geological and natural history survey.....	1	.....
Horticulturist, Madison.....	.....	1
insurance department.....	1	.....
newspapers and periodicals, received from	.....	.....
publishers.....	226	.....
pharmaceutical association.....	1	.....
secretary of state.....	1	.....
state.....	9	.....
state board of control.....	1	.....
cranberry association.....	.....	1
firemen's association.....	.....	1
library.....	113	438
medical society.....	1	.....
normal school, River Falls.....	1	.....
republican committee.....	1	3
university.....	4	.....
library.....	17	.....
veterans' home, Waupaca.....	.....	1
Withers, Mrs. Lettie F., Eau Claire.....	.....	1
Wolff, G. W., Rhine.....	1	.....
Woman's relief corps, Wisconsin department.....	.....	1
Women's clubs, general federation of.....	1	.....
Wood, Mrs. E. F., Madison.....	1	.....
Woodnorth, J. H., Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Woodward, E. A., Sun Prairie.....	1	.....
Worcester (Mass.) city clerk.....	1	.....
free public library.....	.....	1
Wright, A. G., Milwaukee.....	84	.....
Wright, A. O., Madison.....	1	.....
Wright, C. B. B., Milwaukee.....	.....	2
Wyman, W. H., Omaha, Nebr.....	.....	4
Wyoming commemorative association, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	.....	1
historical and geological society, Wilkes-	.....	.....
Barre, Pa.....	.....	5
Wyoming state board of equalization, Cheyenne.....	.....	1
university agricultural college, Laramie.....	.....	6
Yale university, New Haven, Conn.....	2	4

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS REGULARLY RECEIVED AT THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

[Corrected to February 1, 1899.]

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS.

The following Wisconsin newspapers are, through the gift of the publishers, now regularly received at the library and bound; all of them are weekly editions, except where otherwise noted:

- Albany* — Albany Vindicator.
- Algoma* — Algoma Record.
- Alma* — Buffalo County Journal.
- Alma Center* — Alma Center Herald.
- Antigo* — Antigo Republican; Weekly News Item.
- Appleton* — Appleton Crescent (d and w); Appleton Volksfreund; Appleton Post; Weekly Gegenwart.
- Arcadia* — Arcadian; Leader.
- Ashland* — Ashland Daily News; Ashland Weekly Press; Helping Hand (m).
- Augusta* — Augusta Eagle.
- Baldwin* — Baldwin Bulletin.
- Baraboo* — Baraboo Republic; Sauk County Democrat.
- Barron* — Barron County Shield.
- Bayfield* — Bayfield County Press.
- Beaver Dam* — Beaver Dam Argus; Dodge County Citizen.
- Belleville* — Sugar River Recorder.
- Belmont* — Belmont Bee.
- Beloit* — Beloit Free Press (d and w); Our Church Life (m).
- Benton* — Mining Times.
- Berlin* — Berlin Weekly Journal.
- Black River Falls* — Badger State Banner; Jackson County Journal.
- Bloomer* — Bloomer Advance.
- Bloomington* — Bloomington Record.
- Boscobel* — Dial-Enterprise.
- Brandon* — Brandon Times.
- Brodhead* — Brodhead Independent; Brodhead Register; Busy Citizen.
- Brooklyn* — Brooklyn News.
- Burlington* — Standard Democrat.
- Cambria* — Cambria News.
- Cassville* — Cassville Index.
- Cedarburg* — Cedarburg News.

- Centralia* — Centralia Enterprise and Tribune.
Chetek — Chetek Alert.
Chilton — Chilton Times.
Chippewa Falls — Catholic Sentinel; Chippewa Observer; Chippewa Times; Weekly Herald.
Clinton — Clinton Herald.
Colby — Phonograph.
Columbus — Columbus Democrat.
Crandon — Forest Republican.
Cumberland — Cumberland Advocate.
Darlington — Darlington Democrat; Darlington Journal; Darlington Republican.
Deerfield — Deerfield Enterprise.
De Forest — De Forest Times.
Delavan — Delavan Republican; Enterprise; Wisconsin Times.
De Pere — Brown County Democrat; De Pere News.
Dodgeville — Dodgeville Chronicle; Dodgeville Sun; New Star.
Durand — Entering Wedge; Pepin County Courier.
Eagle River — Vilas County News.
Eau Claire — Daily Telegram; Weekly Free Press; Weekly Leader.
Edgerton — Wisconsin Tobacco Reporter.
Elkhorn — Blade; Elkhorn Independent.
Ellsworth — Pierce County Herald.
Elroy — Tribune.
Evansville — Badger; Enterprise; Evansville Review; Tribune; Wisconsin Citizen (m).
Fennimore — Times Review.
Florence — Florence Mining News.
Fond du Lac — Commonwealth (s-w); Daily Reporter.
Fort Atkinson — Ft. Atkinson Chronicle; Hoard's Dairyman; Jefferson County Union.
Fountain City — Alma Blätter; Buffalo County Republikaner.
Friendship — Adams County Press.
Grand Rapids — Wood County Reporter.
Grantsburg — Burnett County Sentinel; Journal of Burnett County.
Green Bay — Advocate (s-w); Green Bay Review; Green Bay Weekly Gazette.
Hammond — Superintendent (m).
Hancock — Hancock News.
Hartford — Hartford Press.
Hillsboro — Hillsboro Sentry.
Hudson — Hudson Star-Times; True Republican.
Hurley — Iron County Republican; Montreal River Miner.
Independence — Independence News Wave.

Janesville — Daily Gazette; Recorder and Times; Wisconsin Druggist's Exchange (m).

Jefferson — Jefferson Banner.

Juneau — Juneau Telephone.

Kaukauna — Kaukauna Sun.

Kenosha — Evening News (d); Kenosha Union; Telegraph-Courier.

Kewaunee — Kewaunee Enterprise; Kewaunské Listy.

Kilbourn City — Mirror-Gazette.

La Crosse — La Crosse Chronicle (d and w); La Crosse Daily Press; La Crosse Volksfreund; Nord-Stern; Nord-Stern Blätter; Republican and Leader (d and w).

Lake Geneva — Herald.

Lake Mills — Lake Mills Leader.

Lake Nebagamon — Nebagamon Enterprise.

Lancaster — Grant County Herald; Weekly Teller.

Linden — Southwest Wisconsin.

Lodi — Lodi Valley News.

Madison — American Thresherman (m); Amerika; Daily Cardinal; Farm und Haus; Madison Democrat (d); Monona Lake Quarterly; Northwestern Mail; State; Weekly Madisonian; Wisconsin Botschafter; Wisconsin Farmer; Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung; Wisconsin State Journal (d and w); W. C. T. U. Motor (m).

Manitowoc — Manitowoc Citizen; Manitowoc Pilot; Nord-Westen; Wahrheit.

Marinette — Eagle (d and w); Förposten.

Marshfield — Marshfield Times.

Mauston — Juneau County Chronicle; Mauston Star.

Medford — Taylor County Star and News; Waldbote.

Menasha — Evening Breeze (d).

Menomonie — Dunn County News; Menomonie Nordstern; Menomonie Times; Wisconsin Signal.

Merrill — Merrill Advocate; Lincoln County Anzeiger; School Bell Echoes (m).

Merrillan — Wisconsin Leader.

Middleton — Middleton Times-Herald.

Milton — Weekly Telephone.

Milwaukee — Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung (s-m); Altruist (m); American School Board Journal (m); Columbia; Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt (s-m); Evening Wisconsin (d); Excelsior; Germania (s-w); Germania und Abend Post (d); International Review (m); Kuryer Polski (d); Lamplighter (m); Living Church Quarterly; Masonic Tidings; Milwaukee Daily News; Milwaukee Herold (s-w); Milwaukee Journal (d); Milwaukee Sentinel (d); Milwaukee Telegraph; Pneumatic (m); Seebote (s-w); Union Signal; Wahrheit; Way-Side (s-m); Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund

(s-w); Wisconsin Patriot; Wisconsin State Work of Y. M. C. A. (m); Wisconsin Vorwärts; Wisconsin Weather and Crop Journal (m); Wisconsin Weekly Advocate; Young Churchman.

Mondovi — Mondovi Herald.

Monroe — Monroe Evening Times; Monroe Daily Journal; Monroe Journal-Gazette; Monroe Sentinel.

Montello — Montello Express.

Mount Horeb — Mount Horeb Times.

Necedah — Necedah Republican.

Neenah — Danskeren; Friend and Guide (m).

Neillsville — Republican and Press; Neillsville Times.

New Lisbon — New Lisbon Times.

New London — New London Press; New London Republican.

New Richmond — New Richmond Voice; St. Croix Republican.

North La Crosse — Weekly Argus.

Oconomowoc — Oconomowoc Republican; Wisconsin Free Press.

Oconto — Diocese of Fond du Lac (m); Oconto County Reporter.

Omro — Omro Herald; Omro Journal.

Oregon — Oregon Observer.

Osceola — Osceola Sun; Polk County Press.

Oshkosh — Daily Northwestern; Weekly Times; Wisconsin Telegraph.

Palmyra — Palmyra Enterprise.

Pardeeville — Crank; Pardeeville Times.

Pepin — Pepin Star.

Peshtigo — Peshtigo Times.

Phillips — Bee; Phillips Times.

Pittsville — Yellow River Pilot.

Plainfield — Sun.

Platteville — Grant County News; Grant County Witness.

Plymouth — Plymouth Reporter; Plymouth Review.

Portage — Portage Weekly Democrat; Wisconsin State Register.

Port Washington — Port Washington Star; Port Washington Zeitung.

Poynette — Poynette Press.

Prairie du Chien — Courier; Prairie du Chien Union.

Prentice — Prentice Calumet.

Prescott — Prescott Tribune.

Princeton — Princeton Republic.

Racine — Racine Journal; Racine Times (d); Slavie; Wisconsin Agriculturist (s-m).

Reedsburg — Reedsburg Free Press.

Rhineland — Rhineland Herald; Vindicator.

Rice Lake — Rice Lake Chronotype; Rice Lake Leader.

Richland Center — Republican Observer; Richland Rustic.

Ridgeway — Barneveld Banner.

- Rio* — Columbia County Reporter.
Ripon — Advance Press; Ripon Commonwealth.
River Falls — River Falls Journal.
St. Croix Falls — St. Croix Valley Standard.
Shawano — Shawano County Advocate; Shawano County Journal; Shawano Folksbote.
Sheboygan — Sheboygan Telegram (d); Sheboygan Times.
Sheboygan Falls — Sheboygan County News.
Shell Lake — Shell Lake Watchman; Washburn County Register.
Shiocton — Shiocton News.
Shullsburg — Pick and Gad; Southwestern Local.
Sinsinawa — Young Eagle (m).
Soldiers Grove — Crawford County Advance.
South Kaukauna — Kaukauna Times.
Sparta — Monroe County Democrat; Sparta Herald.
Spring Green — Weekly Home News.
Stanley — Stanley Republican and Journal.
Stevens Point — Gazette; Stevens Point Journal.
Stoughton — Stoughton Courier; Stoughton Hub.
Sturgeon Bay — Door County Advocate; Door County Democrat.
Sun Prairie — Sun Prairie Countryman.
Superior — Evening Telegram (d); Inland Ocean; Lake Superior Miner and Telegram; Superior Leader (d); Superior Tidende;* Superior Times; Superior Wave.
Thorp — Thorp Courier.
Tomah — Tomah Journal.
Tomahawk — Tomahawk.
Trempealeau — Trempealeau Herald.
Two Rivers — Manitowoc County Chronicle.
Union Grove — Union Grove Enterprise.
Valley Junction — Valley Advocate.
Viola — Intelligencer.
Viroqua — Vernon County Censor; Viroqua Republican.
Washburn — Washburn Times.
Waterford — Waterford Post.
Waterloo — Waterloo Journal.
Watertown — Watertown Gazette; Watertown Republican.
Waukesha — Waukesha Dispatch; Waukesha Freeman.
Waunakee — Waunakee News.
Waupaca — Waupaca Post; Waupaca Record; Waupaca Republican.
Waupun — Waupun Leader; Waupun Times.
Wausau — Central Wisconsin; Deutsche Pionier; Wausau Pilot; Wausau Record (d and w).

*Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Wautoma — Waushara Argus.

West Bend — Washington County Pilot; West Bend Democrat.

West Superior — Vindicator.

Weyauwega — Deutsche Chronik; Weyauwega Chronicle.

Whitewater — Gazette; Whitewater Register.

Windsor — Windsor Herald.

Wonewoc — Wonewoc Gazette.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS

are regularly received as follows, either by gift or purchase:

ALABAMA.

Birmingham — Labor Advocate.

ALASKA.

Sitka — Alaskan.

ARIZONA.

Phoenix — Weekly Phoenix Herald.

CALIFORNIA.

Oakland — Signs of the Times.

San Francisco — Class Struggle; Coast Seamen's Journal; Free Society; Pacific Union Printer (m); San Francisco Chronicle (d); San Francisco Tageblatt; Social Economist; Voice of Labor.

COLORADO.

Denver — Industrial Advocate; Retail Clerks' National Advocate (m); Weekly Rocky Mountain News.

Pueblo — Pueblo Courier.

CONNECTICUT.

New Britain — Independent.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington — American Federationist (m); Forester (m); Washington Post (d); Woman's Tribune (s-m).

GEORGIA.

Atlanta — Atlanta Constitution (d).

ILLINOIS.

Belleville — Social Democratic Herald.

Bloomington — Tailor (m); Traders' Review.

Chicago — American Lumberman; Arbejderen; * Chicago-Posten; * Chicago Times-Herald (d); Chicago Tribune (d); Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung (d); Cigar Makers' Official Journal (m); Fackel; Flaming Sword; Home Visitor (m); Humanisten; * International Wood-Worker (m); Ram's Horn; Rundschau; * Skandinaven (d * and w); Standard; Stone Cutters' Journal (m); Svenska Amerikanaren; * Svenska Kuriren; * Vorbote.

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Evanston — Social Crusader (m).

Galesburg — Galesburg Labor News.

Ottawa — Afholds-Vennen.*

Quincy — Quincy Labor News.

INDIANA.

Indianapolis — Buch drucker Zeitung; Indiana State Journal; Indiana Tribune (d); Union.

La Fayette — Painters' Journal (m).

IOWA.

Decorah — College Chips (m); * Decorah-Posten (s-w); * Decorah Republican; * Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende.*

Lake Mills — Republikaneren.*

KANSAS.

Gerard — Appeal to Reason.

Independence — Star and Kansan.

Topeka — Kansas Semi-weekly Capital.

KENTUCKY.

Lexington — Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (m).

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans — Times-Democrat (d).

MAINE.

Portland — Board of Trade Journal (m).

MARYLAND.

Baltimore — Baltimore Weekly Sun; Granite-Cutters' Journal (m); Maryland Churchman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston — Boston Herald (d); Christian Register; National Association of Builders' Bulletin (m).

Groton — Groton Landmark.

Holyoke — Biene.

MICHIGAN.

Detroit — Detroit Sentinel; Detroit Weekly Tribune; Herold.

Harbor Springs — Anishinabe Enamiad (m).

Marquette — Mining Journal.

Saginaw — Exponent.

West Bay City — Chronicle.

MINNESOTA.

Duluth — Duluth-Superior Volksfreund; Labor World; Union Label Advocate.

Emmons — Emmons Record.*

Fergus Falls — Red River Tidende;* Rodhuggeren.*

Kenyon — Kenyon Leader.

Madison — Minnesota Tidende.*

*Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Minneapolis — Lutheraneren;* *Minneapolis Tidende*;* *Nye Norman-*
den;* *Spøgefuglen* (s-m);* *Ugebladet*.*

Red Wing — *Nordstjernen*.*

St. Paul — *Minnesota Stats Tidning*;* *Nordvesten*;* *Pioneer Press* (d).

Winona — *Westlicher Herold*; *Winona*.

MISSOURI.

Independence — *Labor Exchange*.

St. Louis — *Altruist* (m); *American Pressman* (m); *Brauer Zeitung*;
Trackmen's Advance Advocate; *Westliche Post*.*

MONTANA.

Butte City — *Butte Weekly Miner*.

NEBRASKA.

Omaha — *Omaha Weekly Bee*; *Western Laborer*.

NEW YORK.

Brooklyn — *Bakers' Journal* (s-m).

Buffalo — *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

New York — *American Economist*; *American Fabian*; *American Sen-*
tinel; *Arbeitaren*; *Churchman*; *Commonwealth*; *Fourth Estate*; *Freiheit*;
Irish World; *New York Tribune* (d); *New York Voice*; *New Yorker Volks*
zeitung (d); *People*; *Record and Guide*; *St. Andrew's Cross* (m); *Vorwärts*.

Oneonta — *Saturday Critic*.

Schenectady — *Toiler*.

Syracuse — *Northern Christian Advocate*.

Troy — *Troy Advocate*.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Fargo — *Fargo Posten*;* *Fram*.*

Grand Forks — *Normanden*.*

Hillsboro — *Statstidende*.*

OHIO.

Cincinnati — *Cincinnati-Zeitung* (d).

Cleveland — *Cleveland Citizen*.

OREGON.

Portland — *Weekly Oregonian*.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Lancaster — *Labor Leader*.

Philadelphia — *Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal* (m);
American Trade (s-m); *Carpenter* (m); *Pattern Makers' Monthly Journal*.

Pittsburg — *National Glass Budget*; *National Labor Tribune*.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston — *News and Courier*.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Sioux Falls — *Fremad*.*

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

TENNESSEE.

Ruskin — Coming Nation.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City — Living Issues; Salt Lake Deseret News (s-w); Salt Lake Herald (s-w); Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune.

VIRGINIA.

Lawrenceville — Southern Missioner.

Richmond — Weekly Times.

WASHINGTON.

Edison — Industrial Freedom.

Seattle — Seattle Times.

Spokane — Freeman's Labor Journal.

Tacoma — Spirit of '76; Tacoma Tidende.*

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Victoria — Semi-Weekly Colonist.

CANADA.

Montreal — Cultivateur; Montreal Gazette (d).

Quebec — Revue Médicale.

Toronto — Mail and Empire (d).

DENMARK.

Kolding — Kors og Stjerne (m).

ENGLAND.

London — Weekly Times.

GERMANY.

Frankfort — Wochenblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung.

ICELAND.

Reikiavik — Nyja Öldin.*

MANITOBA.

Winnipeg — Manitoba Free Press (s-w); Sameiningin (m).

PERIODICALS.

The following periodicals are regularly received at the library, either by gift or purchase:

Ægis. (m.) Madison.

American Academy of Polit. and Social Science, Annals. (bi-m.) Phila.

American Antiquarian. (bi-m.) Chicago.

American Book Lore. (q.) Milwaukee.

American Catholic Historical Researches. (q.) Philadelphia.

American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia.

American Colonial Tracts. (m.) Rochester.

American Economic Association, Publications. (bi-m.) Baltimore.

American Geographical Society, Bulletin. (q.) New York.

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

- American Historical Magazine. (q.) Nashville.
 American Historical Review. (q.) New York.
 American Journal of Philology. (q.) Baltimore.
 American Journal of Sociology. (bi-m.) Chicago.
 American Missionary. (m.) New York.
 American Monthly Magazine. Washington.
 American Statistical Association, Publications. (q.) Boston.
 Annals of Iowa. (q.) Des Moines.
 Antiquary. (m.) London.
 Archæological Institute of America; Publications. Cambridge, Mass.
 Arena. (m.) Boston.
 Athenæum. (w.) London.
 Atlantic Monthly. Boston.
 Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Free Library Bulletin. (m.)
 Bible Society Record. (m.) New York.
 Biblia. (m.) Meriden, Conn.
 Bibliotheca Sacra. (q.) Oberlin, Ohio.
 Blackwood's Magazine. (m.) Edinburgh.
 Boiler Makers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal. (m.) Kansas City
 Kansas.
 Book Buyer. (m.) New York.
 Bookman. (m.) New York.
 Bookseller. (m.) London.
 Boston Public Library, Monthly Bulletin.
 British Record Society, Index Library. (q.) London.
 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, Bulletin of Additions. (ann.)
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal. (m.) Cleveland.
 Bulletin des Recherches Historiques. (m.) Lévis, Canada.
 Cambridge (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin. (m.)
 Canada Bookseller and Stationer. (m.) Toronto.
 Canadian Antiquarian. (q.) Montreal.
 Canadian Bookseller. (m.) Toronto.
 Canadian Institute. Proceedings. Toronto.
 Canadian Magazine. (m.) Toronto.
 Canadian Patent Office Record. (m.) Ottawa.
 Catholic World. (m.) New York.
 Century. (m.) New York.
 Charities Review. (m.) New York.
 Clinique. (m.) Chicago.
 College Days. (m.) Ripon, Wis.
 Columbia University Quarterly. New York.
 Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais. (m.) New Orleans.
 Connecticut Magazine. (m.) Hartford.
 Contemporary Review. (m.) London.
 Cook's Excursionist. (m.) New York.

- Cosmopolitan. (m.) New York.
 Cosmopolitan Osteopath. (m.) Des Moines.
 Courrier du Livre. (m.) Quebec.
 Critic. (m.) New York.
 Current History. (q.) Buffalo.
 Dedham Historical Register. (q.) Dedham, Mass.
 Dial. (s-m.) Chicago.
 Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette. (m.) New York.
 Dublin Review. (q.) Dublin.
 Economic Studies. (bi-m.) New York.
 Edinburgh Review. (q.) Edinburgh.
 English Historical Review. (q.) London.
 Essex Antiquarian. (m.) Salem, Mass.
 Essex Institute Historical Collections. (q.) Salem, Mass.
 Fame. (m.) New York.
 Folk Lore. (q.) London.
 Fortnightly Review. (m.) London.
 Forum. (m.) New York.
 Genealogical Queries and Memoranda. (q.) London.
 Gitche Gumee. (m.) West Superior.
 Graphic. (w.) London.
 Harper's Magazine. (m.) New York.
 Harper's Weekly. New York.
 Hartford Seminary Record. (q.) Hartford, Conn.
 Harvard University Library, Bibliographical Contributions.
 Helena (Mont.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
 Home Missionary. (q.) New York.
 Illustrated London News (w.) London.
 Illustrated Official Journal (Patents). (w.) London.
 Independent. (w.) New York.
 International Good Templar. (m.) Milwaukee.
 Iowa Historical Record. (q.) Iowa City.
 Iowa Masonic Library, Quarterly Bulletin. Cedar Rapids.
 Iron Moulders' Journal. (m.) Cincinnati.
 Irrigation Age. (m.) Chicago.
 Johns Hopkins University Circulars. Baltimore.
 Johns Hopkins University Studies. Baltimore.
 Journal of American Folk-Lore. (q.) Boston.
 Journal of Cincinnati Society of Natural History. (q.) Cincinnati.
 Journal of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, etc. (m.) Detroit.
 Journal of Political Economy. (q.) Chicago.
 Journal of Zoöphily. (m.) Philadelphia.
 Journal of the Franklin Institute. (m.) Philadelphia.
 Kansas University Quarterly. Lawrence.

Kingsley House Record. (m.) Pittsburg.
Lewisiaana. (m.) Elliott, Conn.
Library. (m.) London.
Library Journal. (m.) New York.
Library Record; bulletin of Jersey City (N. J.) Public Library. (m.)
Light. (m.) La Crosse.
Literary Era. (m.) Philadelphia.
Literary News. (m.) New York.
Literature. (w.) New York.
Littell's Living Age. (w.) Boston.
Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Lost Cause. (m.) Louisville, Ky.
Lower Norfolk County, Virginia Antiquary. Richmond.
McClure's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Macmillan's Magazine. (m.) London.
Maine Bugle. (q.) Rockland, Me.
Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder. (m.) Portland.
Maine Historical Society, Collections. (q.) Portland.
Manifesto. (m.) Canterbury, N. H.
Manitoba Gazette. (w.) Winnipeg.
Methodist Review. (bi-m.) New York.
Milwaukee Health Department, Monthly Report.
Milwaukee Public Library, Quarterly Index of Additions.
Minneapolis Public Library, Quarterly Bulletin.
Miscellaneous Notes and Queries. (m.) Manchester, N. H.
Missionary Herald. (m.) Boston.
Monthly Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics. Washington.
Monthly Weather Review. Washington.
Monumental Records. (m.) New York.
Municipal Affairs. (q.) New York.
Munsey's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Nation. (w.) New York.
National Review. (m.) London.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register. (q.) Boston.
New England Magazine. (m.) Boston.
New World. (q.) Boston.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. (q.) New York.
New York Public Library Bulletin. (m.) New York.
New York State Board of Health, Bulletin. (m.) New York.
Nineteenth Century. (m.) London.
Normal Advance. (m.) Oshkosh.
North American Review. (m.) New York.
Northwest Magazine. (m.) St. Paul.
Notes and Queries. (m.) London.
Official Gazette of U. S. Patent Office. (w.) Washington.

- Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus.
 "Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Columbus, Ohio.
 Our Day. (m.) Chicago.
 Outlook. (w.) New York.
 Overland Monthly. San Francisco.
 Pennsylvania Magazine of History. (q.) Philadelphia.
 Philadelphia Library Company, Bulletin. (q.)
 Philadelphia Mercantile Library, Bulletin. (q.)
 Philosopher. (m.) Wausau.
 Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs. (m.) New York.
 Pilgrim Scrip. Boston.
 Political Science Quarterly. New York.
 Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (q.) Philadelphia.
 Printers' Ink. (w.) New York.
 Providence (R. I.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
 Public Libraries. (m.) Chicago.
 Public Opinion. (w.) New York.
 Publishers' Weekly. New York.
 Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine. Salem, Mass.
 Quarterly Journal of Economics. Boston.
 Quarterly Review. London.
 Queen's Quarterly. Kingston, Ont.
 Railroad Telegrapher. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
 Railroad Trainmen's Journal. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
 Railway Conductor. (m.) Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
 Review of Reviews. (m.) New York.
 Révue Canadienne. (m.) Montreal.
 Rhode Island Historical Society, Publications. (q.) Providence.
 Salem (Mass.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
 San Francisco Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
 Scottish Review. (q.) Paisley.
 Scribner's Magazine. (m.) New York.
 Sound Currency. (s-m.) New York.
 Southern History Association, Publications. (q.) Washington.
 Spirit of Missions. (m.) New York.
 Tennessee State Board of Health, Bulletin. (m.) Nashville.
 Texas State Historical Society Quarterly. Austin.
 Tradesman. (s-m.) Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Travelers' Record. (m.) Hartford, Conn.
 Typographical Journal. (m.) Indianapolis.
 United States Dept. of Agriculture, Experiment Station Record. (m.)
 United States Dept. of Agriculture. Insect Life.
 United States Dept. of Agriculture, Library Bulletin. (m.)
 University of Tennessee. (q.) Knoxville.
 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. (q.) Richmond.

Westminster Review. (m.) London.
 Whist. (m.) Milwaukee.
 William and Mary College Quart. Hist. Magazine. Williamsburg, Va.
 Wisconsin Horticulturist. (m.) Baraboo.
 Wisconsin Journal of Education. (m.) Madison.
 Wisconsin Osteopath. (m.) Milwaukee.
 Yale Review. (q.) Boston.

Tabular summary of foregoing lists.

Wisconsin newspapers.....	337
Other newspapers.....	164
Periodicals.....	195
Total.....	<hr/> 696

WISCONSIN NECROLOGY FOR YEAR ENDING
NOVEMBER 30, 1898.

BY FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER, LIBRARY ASSISTANT.

Almerin M. Carter, born in Litchfield county, Conn., October 4, 1814; died at Mendota, Wis., June 7, 1898. He was educated at Hamilton college, and in 1842 settled in Johnstown, Rock county, Wis., that being his home until the time of his death, which occurred while on a visit to his son, during the Wisconsin semi-centennial celebration. He was a successful farmer, and never sought official position. In 1848 he was a member of the second constitutional convention, and in 1868 a member of the assembly.

Alexis Clermont, born in St. Ignace, Mich., April 3, 1804; died at De Pere, Wis., February 8, 1898. His father, a British soldier, was killed in the War of 1812-15. In 1820, Alexis came with his step-father's family to Green Bay. In 1832 he served in the Black Hawk war, and was for years a fur-trader and steamboat pilot on various Wisconsin rivers. He was also one of the early pedestrian mail carriers, and in 1893, during the World's Fair, made a trip on foot over his old route from Green Bay to Chicago.

Thomas P. Collingbourne, born in Leicester, England, 1826; died in Milwaukee, December 23, 1897. He came to Milwaukee from England in 1845, and successfully engaged in the painting business.

Edward Colman, born in Rochester, N. Y., 1829; died in Sheboygan, Wis., September 4, 1898. He came to Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1852, and was a farmer and civil engineer. In 1861, he went out as first lieutenant with Co. A, 18th Wisconsin volunteers; twice wounded, he was, in 1865, mustered out of service as colonel of the 49th. He was superintendent of public property at the state capitol for two years, and from 1878-80, sheriff of Fond du Lac county. His home was in Moline, Ill., but he died while on a visit to Sheboygan.

Pitt Cravath, born in Lima, Rock county, Wis., August 1, 1814; died in Whitewater, Wis., November 28, 1898. He was graduated from the State University in 1863, and in 1865 from the Albany (N. Y.) Law School. Beginning the practice of law in Whitewater, he went to New Orleans in 1868; there he became assistant secretary of state, also secretary of the senate. In 1879 he returned to Whitewater to resume his residence there, and established the *Whitewater Chronicle*, now the *Gazette*; but shortly after, he began the practice of law, in which he continued until his death.

John R. Daniel, born in Wales, 1826; died in Randolph, Wis., March 23, 1893. He came to Wisconsin in the early forties among the large number of Welsh immigrants of that time. In 1854-55 he was a student in Racine college, then became pastor at Randolph, and for forty-three years took a leading part in the affairs of the Wisconsin synod of the Welsh Presbyterian church. He held but the one pastorate, and was esteemed one of the most eminent of the ministers in connection with his synod.

Mrs. Catharine Dunn Dewey, born in Jonesboro, Ill., 1827; died in Washington, D. C., March 16, 1893. Mrs. Dewey was the daughter of Charles Dunn, who was a territorial judge of Wisconsin, a member of the constitutional convention of 1848, and in many other ways prominent in the social and political life of the Territory and young State. Mrs. Dewey was the widow of Nelson Dewey, the first governor of this State.

Riverious Palmer Elmore, born in Sharon, Conn., 1815; died in Milwaukee, December 23, 1897. As a child he moved with his parents to Ulster county, N. Y., where his young manhood was spent. In 1851 he came to Milwaukee, and with his brother engaged in the coal business. Five years later his brother withdrew and the firm was reorganized, as the "R. P. Elmore Co.," one of the largest of its trade in this State. He was a prominent member of the Methodist church and to its extension gave liberally of his time and money. He had acceptably held many of the most prominent lay offices within the gift of the church.

Mrs. Angeline Gokey, born in Montreal, December 25, 1792; died in the town of Rudolph, Dodge county, Wis., October, 1893. She and her husband, Frank Gokey, who died six years ago at the remarkable age of one hundred and nine years, came to Milwaukee in 1841, and two years later settled in Theresa, Dodge county. They lived there about thirty years, and then settled in Rudolph, which has since been their home. Mrs. Gokey was the mother of eleven children, five of whom survive her.

Wallace Wilson Graham, born in Cragerycroy, Armagh county, Ireland, September 16, 1815; died in Milwaukee, October 13, 1898. He emigrated to America, and first settled in Ashtabula, Ohio, but in 1838 came to Milwaukee, where he resided until his death. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846, of the assembly in 1852, and of the first common council of Milwaukee in 1846, known as the "Juneau council," because Solomon Juneau was then elected mayor. At the time of his death, Mr. Graham had been a practicing attorney in Milwaukee for nearly sixty years.

Mrs. Mary E. Grignon, daughter of David P. and Lydia Meade, born in Harrisburg, Pa., September 18, 1818; died at Kaukauna, Wis., April 29, 1898. She was educated at a Catholic convent in Somerset, Ohio.

In 1837 she was married to Charles A. Grignon at Green Bay. They soon moved to Kaukauna, where she passed the remainder of her days on the Grignon farm. The Grignon home, erected in 1839 and still standing was noted for its hospitality in Territorial fur-trade days. Mrs. Grignon was a devoted Catholic and gave liberally to the support of that church.

John S. Hawks, born in York, Pa., November 30, 1829; died at Madison, Wis., September 10, 1898. He learned the printer's trade in Canton, Ohio, and in 1848 came to Milwaukee and worked on the *Evening Wisconsin*. From 1849-53, he was foreman in the *Sentinel* office. Between 1853 and '60, in which latter year he settled permanently in Madison, he worked in Madison, Racine, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. In 1860, he became foreman of the *Wisconsin State Journal* Printing company, with which his connection was only severed by death. The long line of men afterwards prominent who had been under him, and the quality of the work which the office issued, entitled him to the soubriquet, "master printer," so often bestowed on him.

Thomas C. Hawley, born in county Tipperary, Ireland, 1835; died in Green Bay, Wis., May 18, 1898. He came to Wisconsin nearly fifty years ago and was captain of the steamboat "Morgan L. Martin" that made the first trip up the river to Appleton, in 1851. He was also captain of boats running on the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. During the Peshtigo fire (1871), he ran his boat, the "Union," up the river to the dock at Peshtigo when the town was burning and took aboard two hundred men, women and children, whom, although in great danger from the flames, he landed in a place of safety.

Abraham Bolton Hayes, born in Patterson, N. Y., June 11, 1838; died in the town of Yorkville, Racine county, Wis., December 23, 1897. In 1846, he came with his foster parents to Racine county, where he was a successful farmer and stock-raiser. For fourteen years he had been a member of the board of supervisors, and had held many minor offices of trust.

Mrs. Sally Hicklin, born in Paris, Bourbon county, Ky., July 29, 1801; died near Lancaster, Wis., June 16, 1898. In 1817, her family moved to Missouri, and there she was married, October 16, 1823, to Moses Hicklin. In 1829, they came to Cassville, Wis., and five years later settled on the farm on which she died. Mrs. Hicklin was in Cassville during the Black Hawk war, and to her death retained many vivid memories of this and other incidents in Grant county history.

Reuben P. Hicks, born in New York state, December 20, 1826; died in Omro, Wis., November 2, 1898. He settled in Omro, Wis., in 1854, and was until his death a highly respected citizen of that place.

Jesse Hubbard, born in Jefferson county, N. Y., 1812; died in Milwaukee, Wis., July 22, 1898. He came to Milwaukee in 1844; a few years later

moved to Mequon, but returned to Milwaukee in 1863. He was in early life a farmer, and subsequently a contractor.

John Henry Inbusch, born in Badburg, Hanover, Germany, October 10, 1814; died in Milwaukee, November 22, 1893. He emigrated to New York in 1834, and until 1856 conducted a retail grocery store. In 1850, however, he had established a wholesale store in Milwaukee. By 1856 the business had grown to such proportions that he abandoned the New York house, and, with various changes in partners, conducted a large business in Milwaukee till his death. He was a man largely interested in benevolent and church work, and gave generously to many public enterprises.

Edward Keogh, born in Cavan, Ireland, May 5, 1835; died in Milwaukee, November 29, 1898. He came with his parents to New York in 1841 and a year later to Milwaukee. Learning the printer's trade when a young man, by his industry and cleverness he worked himself to the head of one of the largest printing establishments in the State. He was a member of the assembly thirteen terms, and of the senate two; in 1893 he was speaker of the assembly. He was, during his later years of service, practically the leader of the Democratic party in the legislature and influential in State and city politics.

Thomas Kingston, born in Cork, Ireland, January 20, 1797; died in Madison, Wis., December 20, 1897. He came to America in 1832, at first settling in Rochester, N. Y., and coming to Dane county, Wis., in 1853. His active business life was spent as a contractor for the construction of railroads and canals.

William DeLoss Love, born in Barre, Orleans county, N. Y., September 29, 1819; died at St. Paul, Minn., September 5, 1898. He was a graduate of Andover in 1843 and four years later entered the Congregational ministry. His only Wisconsin pastorate was that of the Spring Street Congregational church of Milwaukee, with which he was connected from 1858-71. During the War of Secession he was in the service of the Christian Commission, formed a provisional church in the army, and assisted in organizing the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1866, he published a *History of Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*; being also the author of numerous pamphlets and several religious books, and a frequent contributor to religious journals and newspapers.

Nathaniel F. Lund, born in Bradford, N. H., in 1818; died at Concord, N. H., November 23, 1898. He came to Janesville in 1856, and for several years was in the agricultural machinery business there. He was chief clerk under W. W. Tredway, the quartermaster-general of the State during the first year of the War of Secession, and in 1862 succeeded to his place. In 1865, he became secretary of the Madison Mutual Insurance Company, serving that institution until its failure; and in 1885 returned to New England to spend the remainder of his days.

Charles Lafayette MacArthur, born in Claremont, N. H., January 7, 1824; died in Troy, N. Y., October 12, 1898. Colonel MacArthur achieved distinction in the War of Secession, and was the first editor of the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*.

Johnson McClure, born in Chicago, October 23, 1837; died in Milwaukee, November 25, 1898. Mr. Johnson came with his parents to Milwaukee in 1842, and after being educated at Canandaigua, N. Y., entered at once the Milwaukee National Bank. He soon won promotion and finally became manager of the Clearing House Association. The strain of the financial crisis of 1893 so impaired his health that he never fully recovered, and during the last year had failed rapidly.

Xavier Martin, born in the commune of Grez-Doizeau, Brabant, Belgium, January 10, 1832; died at Green Bay, Wis., December 16, 1897. In 1853 he came to America, and until 1857 lived in Philadelphia. In that year he came to the Belgian settlement in Brown county, and for five years labored among these people — not one of whom could read, write or speak the English language — in the capacity of school teacher, justice of the peace, town clerk, school superintendent and postmaster. From 1862-70, he was register of deeds for Brown county, and from 1871 to the date of his death, was engaged in the real estate and insurance business in Green Bay. He held many city offices, and in 1874 was one of the founders of the Wisconsin Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, being its president continuously from that date. Mr. Martin's admirable article on "The Belgians of Northeast Wisconsin," in Vol. XIII of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, attracted much attention from students of foreign immigration.

George W. C. May, born in Vernon, Oneida county, N. Y., December 18, 1814; died in Fort Atkinson, Wis., May 23, 1898. He and two brothers came to Wisconsin in 1839, and settled on a farm two miles south of Fort Atkinson. He was the owner of one of the first sawmills of the district, and furnished the lumber for most of the early buildings of Fort Atkinson.

William Meacher, born in England, May 27, 1833; died in Portage, Wis., April 22, 1898. At an early age, Dr. Meacher came with his parents to America, and in 1844 to Wisconsin. In 1862 he was graduated from Rush Medical College. He was commissioned assistant surgeon of the 16th Wisconsin volunteer infantry, and later served for four months as contract surgeon. In 1870, he located at Portage, and during the last twenty years of his life was surgeon at Portage for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, and for half that length of time for the Wisconsin Central. He was a member of the board of censors of the Wisconsin Medical Society, an ex-president of the Northwestern and Central Wisconsin medical societies, and the inventor of several surgical appliances now in general use.

William P. Merrill, born in South Berwick, Me., March 25, 1816; died in Battle Creek, Mich., July 25, 1898. He received a common school education in New York state, whither his people had emigrated when he was a child. In 1836, he came to Milwaukee, staying for about a year. The period between 1837-39 he spent in exploring northern Illinois and Wisconsin. In 1839, he settled permanently in Milwaukee, and bought eighty acres of land in the vicinity, later doubling it. He soon became actively interested in real estate, and as the city developed, the value of his property rapidly increased. One of the last acts of Mr. Merrill's life was the gift of \$12,000 to Milwaukee-Downer College, and the new main building has been named Merrill Memorial Hall. He died while on a visit to his son, D. L. Merrill, at Battle Creek.

Benjamin Kurtz Miller, born in Gettysburg, Pa., May 6, 1830; died in Milwaukee, September 12, 1898. He came to Milwaukee with his father's family in 1839. Graduating from Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1848, he was in 1851 admitted to the bar. The panic of 1857 proved his ability to disentangle business complications, and for many years he was connected, both as an official and legal adviser, with a large number of home and foreign corporations. In 1896, he gave \$5,000 to the Milwaukee Law Library, and was generally interested in the improvement and development of the city.

George F. Newell, born in Vermont, May 5, 1816; died at Waterford, Wis., March 18, 1898. He was graduated from Castleton (Vt.) Medical College, in 1842, and two years later settled in Waterford, Racine county, Wis. In 1847-48, he was a member of the territorial legislature, and for many years superintendent of the schools of Waterford. Eight years ago Dr. Newell suffered a stroke of paralysis, from which he never fully recovered.

Alfred W. Newman, born in Green county, New York, April 5, 1834; died in Madison, Wis., January 12, 1898. He graduated at Hamilton College in 1857, and in the same year was admitted to the bar. Soon thereafter he came to Wisconsin and settled at Trempealeau, where he remained in the practice of law until 1894, when he was appointed to the supreme bench of the State. In 1860 he had been elected county judge, and was twice re-elected; from 1876-94 he served on the circuit bench. In 1866-76, he was district attorney, and in 1868 State senator for one term. His death resulted from a fall on an icy sidewalk; he had, a year previously, suffered a stroke of paralysis.

Nathan Olmsted, born in Delaware county, N. Y., October 17, 1812; died at Belmont, Wis., April 5, 1893. He came to Wisconsin in 1833, and two years later settled at Belmont. He was appointed a justice of the peace by Governor Dodge, which office he held till the time of his death. He was a member of the legislature in 1851 and 1853, and is said to have held more minor offices than any other man in the county. Since 1860, he had been engaged in the practice of law.

Martin Roehm, born in Kierheim, Wurtemberg, in 1822; died at Ashland, Wis., April 17, 1898. In 1855 he settled on the land where Ashland now stands, and for forty-three years had spent but four days, all told, out of this county. He was one of the celebrities of Ashland, and an industrious and honored citizen.

Patrick Rogan, born in Ross Glass, County Down, Ireland, September 26, 1808; died in Watertown, Wis., February 16, 1898. He came to America in 1823, and first located at Montreal. In 1837, he settled in Watertown, becoming prominently identified with all the activities of the then frontier town. He held, in his time, nearly all the city and town offices, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1846, and a member of the legislature from 1851-55, and again in 1866. He was an active member of the Catholic church, being the organizer of the first parish in Watertown. The *Watertown Gazette* says of him: "To such worthy pioneers as Mr. Rogan, are not only the citizens of Watertown, but those of the entire country, under everlasting obligations."

James Simons, born in Oneida county, New York, January 5, 1821; died in Kaukauna, Wis., February 2, 1898. In 1834, he, with the majority of the Brothertown Indians of Connecticut, was removed from New York to Wisconsin, and settled on the shores of Lake Winnebago, where the village of Brothertown now stands. As one of the descendants of the chiefs of his tribe, he occupied a prominent place among his people, after the tribal system was abandoned and these Indians had become citizens of the United States.

Samuel Smead, born in Bradford county, Pa., June 11, 1830; died at Fond du Lac, Wis., April 28, 1898. He came to Wisconsin in 1846, and settled in Fond du Lac, where he resided until his death. In 1853, he became publisher of the *Fond du Lac Press*, and continued in the newspaper business for several years. Afterwards he was a merchant, and still later a real-estate dealer. An influential Democrat, he was in 1892 elected to the State senate, and served one term.

Angus Smith, born at Algonac, Mich., December 18, 1822; died in Milwaukee, April 22, 1898. He early began a business career; in 1858, coming to Milwaukee, he in company with Jesse Hoyt built the first grain elevator there. His operations in wheat early made Milwaukee famous as a grain center. He was also one of the founders of the Milwaukee & Northern railroad, which is now a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul system, was one of the first members of the Milwaukee chamber of commerce, and an owner of several mines.

Frederick Ludwig von Suessmilch-Hoernig, born at Wurzen, Saxony, Germany, October 26, 1820; died in Delavan, Wis., February 11, 1898. He was a student in the gymnasium of Grimma and Nicholai College, Leipzig, and completed his course at Bautzen; his medical education was received at Leipzig and Dresden, but in 1848 he was compelled to

emigrate, because of his political beliefs, and came to Wisconsin. In 1852, he became a resident of Delavan, being until his death prominently identified with the affairs of the village, and well known throughout the State in medical and Masonic circles.

Alexander M. Thomson, born in Pittsburg, Pa., May 30, 1822; died in Milwaukee, June 9, 1898. When he was two years of age his family migrated to Trumbull county, Ohio, and in that State he received his education. In 1848 he came to Hartford, Washington county, Wis., and engaged in farming. In 1859-60 he was part owner of the *Milwaukee Free Democrat*; in 1862, editor of the *Home League*; from 1864-70, editor of the *Janesville Gazette*; from 1870-74, editor-in-chief of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, and in 1874-75, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, and one of the proprietors of the *Morning News*. Later, he was an editorial writer on the *Chicago Tribune*, and from 1890-94, on the *Chicago Journal*. In 1863-69, he was a member of the assembly from Rock county. His last newspaper work was a political history of Wisconsin published from January to April, 1893, in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The *Sentinel* said of him: "His death will leave a gap in the older generation of editors and politicians that cannot be filled. He was a connecting link between the political history of the days when Wisconsin was in its infancy, and the present."

Robert Byron Treat, born in New York state, August 2, 1824; died in Chicago, December 20, 1897. He came to Janesville, Wis., in 1848, and began the practice of medicine. At once taking a prominent part in the affairs of that city, he served as mayor for several terms; and for fourteen years was president of the board of trustees of the State School for the Blind. In 1871 he became a resident of Chicago.

Jacob J. Vollrath, born in Doerrebach, Rhine Province, Germany, September 19, 1824; died in Sheboygan, Wis., May 15, 1898. He learned the trade of a molder in Germany, and in 1844 came to Milwaukee, where he spent about five years. From Milwaukee, he moved to Chicago, and finally in 1853 settled in Sheboygan, there becoming a manufacturer of agricultural implements. He was the inventor of the gray enameled ware, and began its manufacture in 1874; his business interests assumed large proportions, and since 1884 a stock company, of which he was president, have operated the plant.

David Williams, born in Darien, Genesee county, N. Y., January 6, 1818; died at Darien, Wis., February 7, 1898. He came to Geneva, Wis., in 1846, and to Darien in 1868. In 1857 he was elected to the assembly. He was one of the organizers of the Walworth County Fair, and an active member of the State Fair Board.

Elmer Yocum, born in Mifflin county, Pa., August 6, 1806; died in Kilbourn, Wis., October 12, 1898. At the age of twenty, in Wayne county, Ohio, he was licensed as a local Methodist preacher, and joined the Ohio

conference in 1829. In 1849 he came to Platteville, Wis., and thereafter, throughout his active life, served as presiding elder in some Wisconsin district. It is said that before the War of Secession there was no town or city in Wisconsin in which he had not preached.

LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS IN 1898.

JANUARY.

- 7.—North Wisconsin Historical Society organized at Ashland.
- 12.—Death of A. W. Newman, justice of State supreme court, at Madison.
- 29.—F. A. Walsh & Co.'s large tin-ware establishment destroyed by fire in Milwaukee; loss, \$225,000.
- 23-26.—Heavy storms throughout the State.
- 25.—C. V. Bardeen appointed to the State supreme bench, succeeding Judge Newman.
- 27-28.—Annual meeting of Wisconsin National Guard, in Milwaukee.

FEBRUARY.

- 2-4.—Joint convention of State Horticultural, State Forestry, and Wisconsin Cheesemakers' associations at Madison.
- 20-21.—Heaviest snow storm since 1881.

MARCH.

- 23.—Gen. William Booth, commander-in-chief of the Salvation Army, speaks in Milwaukee.
- 26.—Burning of factory buildings at State industrial school, Waukesha; loss, \$80,000.

APRIL.

- 25.—Three regiments of infantry are called for Wisconsin, for the Spanish-American war.
- 28-29.—First, Second, and Third regiments, and Companies A, B, C, and F of the Fourth, mobilize at Camp Harvey, Milwaukee.

MAY.

- 14.—Third regiment starts for Chickamauga.
- 15.—Second regiment leaves for Chickamauga.
- 16.—Beginning of strike of the Oshkosh wood-workers.
- 19.—Wind and electrical storm throughout Wisconsin and neighboring counties; slight loss of life, but many injured, and much property damaged.
- 20.—First regiment leaves for Jacksonville.
- 25-26.—Thirty-second annual encampment of the Wisconsin G. A. R., at Appleton.

JUNE.

- 7-9.— State semi-centennial anniversary celebration, at Madison.
14-16.— Little Chute semi-centennial celebration, by Holland settlers.
23.— Commencement at the State University.
24.— State troops sent to Oshkosh to quell the riot of striking wood-workers.
27.— Fourth regiment mobilized at Camp Douglas.
27.— July 2.— Milwaukee Carnival.

JULY.

- 6.— First light battery mobilized at Camp Douglas.
12.— Orders issued by Adj.-Gen. Boardman for the formation of the Fifth Wisconsin infantry.
13.— Racine Malleable and Wrought-Iron Co.'s works burn; loss, \$75,000 in money, three lives, and many seriously injured.
21.— Second and Third Wisconsin regiments leave Charleston for Puerto Rico.
28.— Second and Third regiments arrive in Puerto Rico, and take part in the capture of Ponce.

AUGUST.

- 1.— State Reformatory opened, at Green Bay.
4.— Oshkosh mills start up, after the long strike.
13.— The Third Wisconsin in the last engagement of the Spanish-American war, at Aibonito, Puerto Rico.
17-19.— Republican State convention, at Milwaukee.
20.— Sick from the Second and Third Wisconsin regiments reach New York.
21-24.— State convention of German Catholic societies, in Milwaukee.
29.— Order received from Washington, to muster out the First Wisconsin.
31 — Sept. 1.— Democratic State convention, in Milwaukee.

SEPTEMBER.

- 10.— First regiment arrives in Milwaukee.
16.— Last of Second regiment arrives at New York.
29-30.— Forest fires, chiefly in Barron county; 258 families left destitute; loss, \$400,000. Relief agencies established in various cities of the State.

OCTOBER.

- 4.— Third Wisconsin regiment sent back from San Juan to Coamo.
5.— Sick Wisconsin soldiers arrive at Newport News, from Puerto Rico.
7.— Gen. Charles King, of Wisconsin, ordered to Manila.
11.— Third Wisconsin regiment leaves Coamo; one-third of regiment left behind sick.

OCTOBER (continued).

- 20.—Elisha D. Smith Library, of Menasha, dedicated. Four Milwaukee companies of First Wisconsin, mustered out.
- 26.—Third Wisconsin reaches New York from Puerto Rico.
- 30.—Third Wisconsin arrives in Milwaukee.

NOVEMBER.

- 8.—Edward Scofield re-elected governor.
- 9.—Justice S. U. Pinney resigns from the State supreme bench.
- 10.—Annual convention of Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs begins at La Crosse.
- 16.—Second Wisconsin mustered out.
- 19.—Joshua E. Dodge appointed member of State supreme court, to succeed Justice Pinney.
- 26.—Battleship *Wisconsin* launched at San Francisco.

DECEMBER.

- 17.—Five stores burn on Fond du Lac avenue, Milwaukee; loss, \$56,000.

NECROLOGICAL SUMMARY.

(Alphabetical arrangement.)

The following notable Wisconsin people died within the year: At Oshkosh, September 1, President Albee, of the Oshkosh State normal school; at Mendota, June 7, A. M. Carter, member of second constitutional convention; at Washington, D. C., March 16, Mrs. Catherine Dunn Dewey, daughter of Charles Dunn, territorial judge, and widow of Nelson Dewey, first State governor; at Berlin, Germany, November 2, Julius Goldschmidt, consul general of United States, and prominent Milwaukee business man; at Milwaukee, October 13, Wallace W. Graham, member of first constitutional convention; at Kaukauna, April 29, Mrs. Mary E., widow of Charles A. Grignon, early fur-trader; at Troy, N. Y., October 12, Charles L. MacArthur, first editor of Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*; at Portage, April 22, Dr. William Meacher, prominent physician; at Battle Creek, Mich., July 25, William P. Merrill, a Milwaukee pioneer and benefactor of Milwaukee-Downer College; at Milwaukee, September 12, Benjamin K. Miller, pioneer lawyer; at Madison, January 12, Alfred W. Newman, justice of State supreme court; at Watertown, February 16, Patrick Rogan, a Watertown pioneer, member of first constitutional convention, and early legislator; at Kaukauna, January 5, James Simons, one of the head-men of the Brothertown Indians; at Delavan, February 11, Dr. Frederick L. von Suessmilch-Hoernig, a prominent physician; at Milwaukee, June 9, Alexander M. Thomson, pioneer journalist; at Milwaukee, October 21, Col. John J. Upham, U. S. A., a distinguished soldier; at Darien, February 7, David Williams, pioneer assemblyman and agriculturist.

STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION — FEBRUARY, 1899.

A State historical convention was held in the auditorium of the First Congregational church at Madison, upon February 22d and 23d, under the auspices of the Society.

The convention opened at 2 P. M. of Wednesday, the 22d, with an attendance representing all sections of the State. President Johnston occupied the chair, and the following papers were presented:

Puritan Influence in Wisconsin. By Hon. E. B. Usher, editor of *La Crosse Chronicle*.

The Settlement of Beloit as Typical of the Best Western Migration of the American Stock. By Prof. Henry M. Whitney, of Beloit College.

The Influence of the French Regime, in the Valley of the Fox. By Mrs. Ella Hoes Neville, of Green Bay, president of Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The German-American Press. By Hon. Emil Baensch, of Manitowoc.

The First Norwegian Settlements in America, within the Present Century. By Hon. Rasmus B. Anderson, of Madison, editor of *Amerika*.

At 6 P. M., in the chapel of the church, the resident members of the Society tendered a supper to non-resident members and other invited guests. About one hundred and twenty persons participated. President Johnston acted as toastmaster, Dr. James D. Butler offered prayer, and toasts were responded to by Col. William F. Vilas, of Madison; Dr. George Burton Adams, of Yale University; Hon. Francis B. Keene, of Milwaukee; and ex-Gov. William D. Hoard, of Fort Atkinson.

At 7:50 o'clock the company adjourned to the auditorium, where Dr. Adams, of Yale, introduced by the President to a large and representative audience, delivered the biennial address before the Society, on "The Movement for Federation between England and her Colonies."

The final session of the convention was held on the morning

of Thursday, the 23d. Secretary Thwaites occupied the chair, and the following papers were read:

Allouez and his Relations to La Salle. By Rev. Joseph S. La Boule, of St. Francis Seminary.

Some Distinctive Characteristics of the History of our Lead Region. By Rev. John N. Davidson, of Two Rivers.

The Old Fort at Fort Atkinson. By Prof. D. D. Mayne, city superintendent of schools, Janesville.

The Future of Northern Wisconsin. By Hon. James O'Neill, of Neillsville.

The Great Lakes and the Railroad Development of Northern Wisconsin. By Prof. J. S. Griffin, principal of Broadway High School, West Superior.

The History of a Great Industry. By Hon. John Luchsinger, of Monroe.

The convention thereupon stood adjourned.

*Presented to the
members of the
Association of the
State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Sept. 3, 1899*

THE ORIGIN AND THE RESULTS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.¹

BY GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D.

During the last half of the present century, a great change has taken place in the feeling of the people of England in regard to the Colonies and the Empire. Before 1850, so great was the prevailing indifference that it was exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to arouse public opinion on any question of colonial policy. At present, scarcely any subject exists of greater interest to the mass of Englishmen. Before that date, and indeed for many years afterwards, the colonies were looked upon almost solely as sources of wealth to England, or as safely-distant places into which could be drained the superfluous, the destitute and burdensome, and even the criminal population of the mother country. Now, the conception of colonies as a mere commercial investment, or a kind of a social pest house, has entirely passed away, and the nation has come to realize that they are a source of wealth which cannot be entered in the ledger, and of moral health not measured in the statistics of crime. And the vision of new Englands in many regions of the globe, filled with prosperous and patriotic Englishmen, destined in the future greatly to exceed in wealth and numbers the parent state, is gradually changing also the idea of the Empire. Anglo-Saxon empire is coming to mean no longer, as it once did, mere geographical expansion or mere political conquest and rule, but rather the one race in all its scattered homes, united by pride in a common past, by the possession of a common civilization, and by common aspirations for the future. It is coming to mean less the territories which the Anglo-Saxon occupies, wherever they may lie on the map, than the political liberty and freedom of opportunity for all which he is there working out, or

¹ Biennial Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, February 22, 1899.

the training in the best of his possessions which he is imparting to inferior races.

This new idea of empire, as the united race and its common inheritance, has begun most happily to extend beyond England and her present colonies, and to take in us who once were colonies. It has led to the idea of the race as above the nation, of a kinship superior to artificial boundary lines, and was one of the chief causes of that helpful friendliness so often extended to us during our war with Spain.

A change so full of interest to us as this, and so fraught with the highest good to all the world (if it leads, as it may very likely do, to a common Anglo-Saxon policy, generously conceived and pursued in close alliance), is one of the most important that has ever occurred in history. What are the causes which have brought it about?

The subject to which I would invite your attention to-night, is the history of one of the strongest influences creating this new consciousness of race unity, the so-called imperial federation movement in England. While this movement was in the main confined to England, and was wholly concerned with the relation of England to her colonies, the new conception which it helped to create has not been so confined, and the recent expression of it to which I have just alluded has aroused among us something at least of a response, and may not impossibly lead to results which will give the imperial federation movement a direct bearing on our future history.

The question of the proper form of an imperial government, including in one system England and her colonies, is one that did not arise until long after the founding of the American colonies, but it has been more or less constantly discussed for a century and a half. It was the heavy expense of the long struggle with France, that first gave rise to the question whether the English parliament could not exercise more direct powers of government in the colonies than it had hitherto done. The answer which was returned to this question, we are not likely to forget. The stamp act and the tax on tea were clumsy experiments in imperial government, and led, with what they necessarily implied, to a result which England ought to have

anticipated had she remembered her own history in the seventeenth century, and recognized the fact that the American colonists were likely to preserve the spirit and insist upon the rights of their ancestors. In recent years the English people have come to do justice to the colonial cause, and to understand how much they themselves gained from our successful resistance to the will of George III. It is true also, that since England's return to a policy of self-government in the colonies, she has drawn from her experience in America a valuable lesson in present colonial government. But for almost a hundred years, the memory of the American Revolution exercised an influence upon the relation of England to her colonies unfortunate for both. This influence in some particulars I have attempted to trace elsewhere.¹ I shall refer to it here, only as one of the important causes of that feeling in the English official world in regard to colonial relations, which finally became so strong and so nearly carried out in practice as to bring about a popular reaction which led immediately to the rise of the idea of imperial federation.

The first effect of the American Revolution seems to have been a very general fear that a liberal policy in the government of the colonies would result in their throwing off their allegiance and proclaiming themselves independent, as the American colonies had done. Naturally, the English government determined to prevent the anticipated result, and naturally also, holding this belief, it sought to do so by maintaining a strict control of the colonies from the home office; for, as an advocate of this policy wrote in 1813, "it cannot be too often or too seriously pressed, that a firm adherence to a restrictive policy alone can secure the allegiance of the colonists and the advantages which they bring to the mother country."² This policy, applied to Canada, was one of the chief causes of the Rebellion of 1837; and it led to so plain an exhibition of the temper of the colonists that England was persuaded to abandon it, and free self-government was granted to Canada. The same

¹ *Report of the American Historical Association for 1896*, vol. i, pp. 373-389.

² Anonymous pamphlet, *Considerations on Colonial Policy* (1813), p. 14.

favor was granted a little later, and with some further hesitation, to the Australian colonies.

But, though the policy of strict government from home was dropped, the English official world was not converted from the belief that the colonies were destined to inevitable independence. The first result of granting self-government to them, was rather to strengthen this belief. It was the reigning opinion at the middle of this century, that in allowing the colonies to govern themselves, England had consented to the first steps towards independence, and that the experience which the colonists would gain in managing their own affairs would soon lead them to demand complete separation from the mother country. So reconciled did the public become to this view of the case, that it even came to be generally believed that the real object of colonial self-government should be to train the colonists in the conduct of government, as a preparation for future independence. This fact cannot be put more exactly than in the words of Mr. Arthur Mills, in the introduction to his work on colonial constitutions, published in 1856. He says:

"To ripen those communities to the earliest possible maturity,—social, political, and commercial,—to qualify them, by all the appliances within the reach of a parent State, for present self-government, and eventual independence, is now the universally admitted object and aim of our colonial policy."¹ Says Lord Bury, afterwards Earl of Albemarle, in a work on colonial history published in 1865, speaking of the same fact: "So wide spread is this belief that our whole colonial policy is based on the assumption that our colonies will at some future time desire to become independent nations; and that we have learned the lesson taught by the war of American independence too well to prevent them even if we could."²

Interesting evidence of the extreme form of this belief is found in the fact that Lord Bury, in the work just quoted, and Mr. Thring, afterwards Lord Thring, a subordinate officer of the government, in a publication of the same year, both submitted plans to be adopted in advance, by which the independ-

¹ Mills, *Colonial Constitutions*, p. lxi.

² Lord Bury, *Exodus of the Western Nations*, ii, p. 17.

ence of a colony might be legally declared whenever it should wish, and the new nation launched upon its career with the blessing of the parent state.¹

While this belief was held by most public men, and by many writers on colonial subjects from the early part of the century, its influence was combined with that of another theory before it began to affect the practical action of the government. This was the doctrine that the colonies were nothing but a burden, and that it would be better for England to be rid of them.

It is impossible to trace here in any detail the rise and growth of this doctrine, interesting as it might be to do so. It undoubtedly had its origin, like the other idea, in the troubles of the American revolutionary period. Briefly stated by Adam Smith, just as the war was beginning,² and by Dean Tucker a little later,³ it received still more complete and striking development from Jeremy Bentham, in 1793, in a paper addressed to the revolutionary government in France, but not published at the time. After an interval of about thirty years, the idea again made its appearance, and this time apparently with some considerable popular support.⁴ It appeared in the reviews, and was heard in the House of Commons. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* of January, 1822,⁵ considered the notion prevalent enough to deserve an answer, and indicated its character by saying: "It may not be amiss to advert to some objections occasionally advanced against these dependencies altogether. It is sometimes insisted that colonies are burdens;

¹ Lord Bury's plan, given in his *Exodus of the Western Nations*, vol. ii, pp. 459-463, provided for independence by a treaty between England and the colony. Mr. Thring's plan was stated in a pamphlet which I have not seen, entitled *Suggestions for Colonial Reform*. As given by Lord Bury, *Exodus*, ii, 457, it provided for independence by royal proclamation.

² *The Wealth of Nations*, book iv, chap. 7.

³ See his pamphlet made up of letters addressed to Necker, entitled *Cui bono*, especially letters v and vi, and the postscript.

⁴ It was not possible within the limits of this address to discuss the relation of this idea to the movement for the removal of trade restrictions, nor of Cobden's to the free trade movement. I hope to give this part of the subject more adequate treatment on some future occasion.

⁵ Vol. 26, p. 523.

and that the wealth and strength of a country would be increased by seeking the productions of detached states and settlements of other countries." A few weeks later in the same year, in a debate in the House of Commons on a petition from Canada, Sir I. Coffin said: "It would have been a good thing for this country if Canada had been sunk to the bottom of the sea. It cost this country £500,000 per annum, and did not make a return to it of 500 pence. * * * The sooner the governor was called home, and the sooner the assembly and colony were suffered to go,—he should be sorry to say *au diable*,—the better."¹ In the next year the House of Commons listened to the same doctrine from Mr. D. Hume, who maintained that "it was obvious that the colonies, instead of being an addition to the strength of the country, increased its weakness."² In 1825 the *Edinburgh Review*³ said: "We defy anyone to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America. They are productive of heavy expenses to Great Britain, but of nothing else." And the next year the same *Review* added:⁴ "We have no hesitation in saying, that instead of being of any value to England, it would have been better for her, had Canada, Nova Scotia, etc., continued to this hour in the possession of their aboriginal savages."

I will not multiply these quotations, though it might easily be done; but it is especially interesting that Jeremy Bentham's tract, in which he had tried to persuade the French revolutionists to abandon their colonies, and which had remained for a whole generation unpublished, was put into circulation in England, for some reason, in 1830.⁵ A party advocating these views had already begun to form itself, and was no doubt encouraged and strengthened by Bentham's striking argument. It is to be noticed also that this tract was published just at the beginning

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 2d series, vol. 6, col. 1076.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, col. 250.

³ Vol. 42, p. 291.

⁴ Vol. 43, p. 350.

⁵ *Emancipate your Colonies! Addressed to the National Convention of France, A^o 1793. Now first published for sale* (London, 1830). Included also in vol. iv of Bentham's *Works*.

of the most dangerous crisis in English colonial government since the American revolution — the culmination of the struggle in Canada. That danger was overcome, however, not by abandoning Canada altogether, according to the doctrine of this new party, but by a wise and generous yielding to her wishes, which speedily restored her shaken loyalty.

With the rise of the free-trade movement, this doctrine of the misfortune of possessing colonies received the powerful support of the Manchester school of economists and politicians, and especially of Mr. Richard Cobden. In both his speeches and his political writings he is continually recurring to the subject. Nothing but the foreign policy of England is so foolish and insane as her colonial policy. Cobden's view of the question is entirely that of the economist. His only standard by which to measure the value of colonies, is that of shillings and pence.¹ The fearful burden of taxes; the maintenance of an unnecessary army and navy; the enormous debt; the necessity of economy; the possibility of the fate of Spain overtaking the nation which is immolating its natural greatness on the shrine of trans-Atlantic ambition,² these are the reasons which he urges for an immediate dissolution of the Empire, and for abandoning the colonies to themselves, apparently without inquiring what their wishes might be in the matter. They are able, he says, to take care of themselves. Evidently no vision arose before his mind of a diminishing national debt and enormously increasing national wealth, going hand in hand with an undreamed of colo-

¹ "Three hundred millions of permanent debt have been accumulated, millions of direct taxation are levied annually, restrictions and prohibitions are imposed upon our trade in all quarters of the world, for the acquisition or maintenance of colonial possessions; and all for what? That we may repeat the fatal Spanish proverb — 'The sun never sets on the king of England's dominions.' For we believe that no candid investigator of our colonial policy will draw the conclusion, that we have derived, or shall derive, from it advantages that can compensate for these formidable sacrifices."—*Political Works*, vol. i, p. 26.

² "Spain lies, at this moment, a miserable spectacle of a nation whose own natural greatness has been immolated on the shrine of trans-Atlantic ambition. May not some future historian possibly be found recording a similar epitaph on the tomb of Britain."—*Political Works*, vol. i, p. 25.

nial expansion. One would like to know if he would still measure the value of Canada and Australia to England by the balance of trade alone.¹

Vigorous as was the argument of Mr. Cobden against the colonial policy of England, it was surpassed in frankness and completeness, near the end of his life, by a younger member of the Manchester school, Mr. Goldwin Smith, then Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. He first published his argument in a series of letters to the London *Daily News* in 1862, and in the following year as a volume, with an introduction and some additions, under the title of *The Empire*. In the way of actual argument the letters contained but little that was new, except in relation to recent events. The reasoning was very largely that of Bentham and Cobden, but it was developed and enforced with all the remarkable dialectic skill of the author, and made attractive by the graces of his style.

From the appearance of the first letter, this skillful reassertion of the doctrine that England ought to look to her own interests alone, and lay aside all responsibility for the colonies, attracted much attention and led to much discussion both in England and in the colonies. Undoubtedly it strengthened the official class, especially the leaders of the Liberal party, in their belief that colonial independence was certain to come at no distant day. On the general opinion of England, in so far as it can be inferred from the press, it seems to have had an effect opposite to that intended by the author. It was interpreted as an attack on the integrity of the Empire, especially dangerous because so able, and it awakened a spirit of opposition and a

¹ A representative of the Manchester school has denied that they ever entertained a feeling of contempt for the colonies. This of course depends largely upon what one considers a feeling of contempt, and the colonies are hardly likely to have had the same view of the case as those who held the opinions of Cobden. Probably almost any one would admit, however, that the following words of Mr. Cobden, written in 1836, come near to proving the accusation: "The colonies, the army, the navy, and the church, are only appendages of our aristocratical government. John Bull has for the next fifty years the task set him of cleansing his house from this stuff." — Quoted from Geffcken, *The British Empire*, p. 53.

determination to maintain the colonial connection, which must be regarded as the first step towards the federation movement.

So long, however, as ideas of this sort were confined to theoretical writers like Bentham and Goldwin Smith, or to politicians accustomed to use extravagant language but not responsible for the actual conduct of colonial affairs, like Mr. Cobden, the sound public sense of England was not likely to take alarm. The letters of Prof. Goldwin Smith called forth considerable discussion in newspapers and reviews, in which the cause of the Empire was quite as ably maintained as the cause of disintegration; but for some years the debate remained purely academic. It was only when real anxieties arose regarding the safety or the loyal feeling of the colonies, combined with evidence that the ministry of the day were disposed to put these theories into practice and turn the colonies adrift, that the people of England were sufficiently aroused to make their feeling known.

Before the close of the decade in which Mr. Goldwin Smith's book appeared, two colonial questions had arisen which seemed to England of unusual importance, and which excited a general popular interest. The first of these was the defence of Canada against the danger to which she was believed to be exposed from the civil war then going on in the United States. The second, coming immediately on the heels of the other, was a prolonged and difficult war between the natives of New Zealand and the colonists. The special questions arising in the course of this war gave rise to a general discussion of the fundamental question — the proper attitude of the mother country towards her colonies.

It was a series of events, however, in the year 1869 and the early months of 1870, which revealed to the nation that the theories of the certainty of colonial independence and of the disadvantage of colonial possessions had gone much further towards a realization in actual facts than anyone had supposed. In the New Zealand native war, the settlers were having, as they thought, a rather bad time of it, and they had earnestly appealed to the home government for aid, but without effect. The use of imperial troops had been refused them; even the single regiment which had been stationed in the colony, was withdrawn

in the middle of the war. The colonists had been denied the guarantee of a loan to meet their military expenses, and finally they were rather harshly informed that the home government considered itself under no obligation to assist them. The British troops were also withdrawn from the Cape Colony, and the Australians were told that only one regiment would be left in that island. Canada was informed through Sir John Young, that she might have independence for the asking.¹ At a public meeting in London, Mr. Edward Wilson, "an eminent Australian, said, among other things, that a letter which he had received and which he read to the meeting, proved that Lord Granville's private views were in favor of a policy of separation between the colonies and this country."² That is, the secretary of state for the colonies was in favor of the dissolution of the Empire. In another meeting a few days later, Sir George Grey, lately Governor of New Zealand, said "that Lord Granville had intimated to one of the deputations on the subject of New Zealand, that if New Zealand wished to break off her connection with this country, and thought it would be for her own advantage to do so, there would be no objection."³

In August of that year, certain distinguished colonists in London issued an invitation to the leading colonies to send deputies to a conference to meet in February of 1870 to discuss the question of future relations between England and the colonies, and stated in the call that the government appeared to have announced as its policy "that (except to the extent of partial protection in case of foreign war with civilized powers) the mother country recognizes no responsibility for their welfare or safety nor any obligation to help them, even in circumstances of great danger and pressing need."⁴ To the meeting of this conference Lord Granville objected, and the London *Times*, in a leader on the call which had been issued for it, graciously in-

¹ *The Spectator*, Aug. 23, 1869, p. 1001.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1869, p. 1383.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1869, p. 1414.

⁴ The invitation is dated Aug. 13, and is printed in the *Times*, Aug. 26, p. 9. Lord Granville's dispatch on the subject is dated Sept. 8, and is given in the *Times* of Dec. 17, p. 7.

formed the colonists that England could be called their mother country only in a historical sense, only in the sense in which Schleswig Holstein was the mother country of England.¹ These events were in 1869.

Early in 1870, Mr. Alexander Galt, a Canadian political leader, received the honor of knighthood from the home government. As he was at that time a public advocate of the policy of independence for Canada, he was criticised for accepting the honor. In defending himself, he said that when the offer was first made him he had informed the English government of his views on the subject of independence and had stated that if these views were inconsistent with the honor, he must decline to receive it. He had therefore drawn the inference that his views were in accordance with those of the British cabinet—an inference that would certainly need no argument when the honor followed such a declaration on his part.² Later in the year, in the Canadian Parliament, "it was openly stated by Sir Alexander Galt, Mr. Huntingdon, and other prominent members of the Assembly, that it was with unfeigned regret that they had come to the conclusion that it was the deliberate intention of Her Majesty's ministers to bring about a separation between the two countries."³ In Canada and in the Cape Colony, the royal governors publicly discussed the separation of the colonies from England as something quite within the range of probability.⁴

These facts, becoming known within the space of a few months, were a sudden revelation to the British public that the government of Mr. Gladstone was preparing to act upon the theories which had so long been taught, and to force upon the colonies the independence which they ought to desire.⁵ The

¹ *The Times*, Aug. 26, p. 8.

² *The Spectator*, Mar. 26, 1870 — vol. 43, p. 393.

³ *The National Review*, vol. v, p. 214.

⁴ *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 810.

⁵ I am not here concerned with the question whether the government's intention was in every particular correctly interpreted — probably it was so only in the main, — but with the causes of the popular feeling which gave rise to the idea of imperial federation. Of these the newspapers and reviews are better evidence than the blue books.

effect of this revelation on the public was unmistakable. The judgment of the nation as a whole, which in the end controls the policy of cabinets and ministers, proved to be thoroughly sound when it was brought to face the question, not as one for debate merely, but as a practical one demanding immediate action. Aroused public feeling brought itself to bear on the ministry, in all the various ways which Anglo-Saxon public opinion has of making itself felt. There were letters to the *Times* and heavy articles in the reviews, and speeches and questions in Parliament. Public meetings were held for the enlightenment of the nation and the discussion of plans. There were deputations to the ministers, and protests from the colonies.

It was the New Zealand question on which public opinion centred as the one demanding immediate settlement, and it was on this that the victory was gained over the Liberal policy of dissolution. So evident and so decided was the general feeling, that it brought about a quick reversal of the ministerial policy in the matter. The New Zealanders were allowed the use of imperial troops, and their loan was guaranteed — first of five hundred thousand pounds, and then of a million. At the end of May, 1870, there was a leader in the *Spectator* on this sudden change of the cabinet's policy, which it called "the death-bed repentance of the colonial office," in which it said: "Ministers have changed their policy, have changed it abruptly, and have changed it for the best of all reasons — because they had begun to discover that their line was not the line of the people of England, and would, if pushed to its logical results, end in events which would bring down the bitter displeasure of the people of England." ¹

It was in connection with these events that the first discussion of imperial federation arose, at least in such a way as to attract attention to it as a plan that might prove practicable. There had been some incidental and not very definite suggestion of the possibility of a federation between England and her colonies, as early at least as the controversies to which Prof. Goldwin Smith's letters gave rise, but such suggestions had

¹ May 21, p. 632.

attracted no general attention, and the idea seems to have been regarded as a pleasant speculation merely, useful for purposes of debate, but hardly likely to be put into practical operation. The following passage from the *Saturday Review* of February 15, 1862, may be taken as a fair specimen of these early references to the subject. It is a passage not without interest also, from the internal evidence which it affords of having been written during the American civil war. The writer, criticising Mr. Smith's idea of a friendly separation, says: "Certainly it is a bold assumption to take for granted the absolute certainty of a transaction [that is, friendly separation] the like of which had never been attempted since the world began. It would perhaps be less extravagant to imagine a continual approach on the part of England and her colonies to the realization of some idea of Federal Empire, which the democratic machinery of the United States has so signally failed to construct."

In the crisis of 1869 the subject was again referred to in a similar way, for purposes of debate, but with a greater definiteness and clearness which showed that, in the thinking of the nation at least, some progress had been made. In an article in *Frazer's Magazine* for January, 1870, in answer to objections, Mr. Froude wrote:¹ "Neither the terms of the federation, the nature of the Imperial council, the functions of the local legislatures, the present debts of colonies, or the apportionment of taxation, would be found problems hard of solution, if the apostles of *laissez-faire* could believe for once that it was not the last word of science." A few days before this article of Mr. Froude appeared, the *Times* said, in a leader on the colonial troubles: "Lord Granville and his colleagues are called upon to consider the whole subject, and either to extract a principle of government from the precedents they find recorded at the colonial office, or to throw over these traditions and devise a system of federal government without an example in the history of our Empire."² These quotations, it will be seen, indicate some thinking on the subject, but not as yet any tendency to urge

¹ Also in Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. ii, p. 173.

² *The Times*, Dec. 29, 1869, p. 6.

the actual adoption of a federal organization. This next step in advance was, however, immediately taken.

In January, 1871, an article was published in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "Imperial Federalism." It was by Mr. Edward Jenkins, the author of a clever sociological satire called "Ginx's Baby." The publication of this article is usually referred to as the first definite date in the imperial federation movement, and as giving it a name. What Mr. Jenkins really did in inventing the name, was to put together two words, both of which had been in frequent use in the discussions of the preceding ten years, as in the passage quoted from the *Saturday Review* of 1862, where the expression is "a federal Empire." In doing so, however, he certainly coined a most effective term, afterwards used in the slightly different form of "Imperial Federation," and this helped to crystallize the ideas of the opponents of the government's policy and to form them into a party — no slight service at the time. This article and another¹ which followed in the April number of the same review, were the first extended discussion of imperial federation, which Mr. Jenkins treated not as a mere academic theory, as it had hitherto been regarded, nor as an impossible dream, but as a practicable plan which England must be persuaded to adopt, if the Empire was to be saved from impending dissolution. The articles are an impassioned and vigorous argument against the ministerial policy, and in favor of a close organization on the model of the federal systems in use in the United States and Canada. This was a more important service than the invention of a name, and Mr. Jenkins justly deserves the honor of beginning the imperial federation movement, as a movement with a definite aim and purpose.

It was four years, however, from the appearance of these articles before the proposal was taken up by any active politician as a measure with which he ventured to identify himself. During the interval, the subject received frequent discussion in public meetings and in the press,² and a new colonial question

¹ Entitled *An Imperial Confederation* — vol. 17, pp. 60-79.

² A sketch of the discussion of this time will be found in Young, *Imperial Federation*, pp. 68-70.

of the time also served to keep alive interest in the relation between home and colonial governments. This was the question of the annexation of the Fiji Islands, in which the English government seemed for a time, as the Australian colonists thought, determined to sacrifice their interests.¹

Notwithstanding increasing interest in the subject, the federation movement still lacked one most important support in the eyes of the average Anglo-Saxon. It had not as yet received the sanction, as I have said, of any one who could be called a practical statesman. As the *Times* said in 1884,² in a leader on the formation of the Imperial Federation League, speaking of the troublous times of 1869-70, "There were some even then who contended for the principles of a federal union between the mother country and her colonies, but the question was not regarded as a practical one, and it would have been difficult to induce any politician of mark to identify himself with a project which seemed likely to remain a splendid but impracticable dream." In other words, until taken up by some party leader whose political future might depend upon the cause he advocated, the federation plan failed to meet the test universally applied by all who speak the English language to every proposal—it was not practical.

This lack was at last supplied by Mr. W. E. Forster, the Liberal leader, who, in an address delivered in Edinburgh in November, 1875, announced his belief in the feasibility and wisdom of imperial federation, and urged it upon the attention of the nation.³ It may have been, as some one said later, that

¹ One point of interest in the debate on this question may be mentioned. The later fashion of denying or explaining away views not favorable to the Empire extended to Mr. Gladstone, but in his argument against the annexation of the Fiji Islands he comes very near to saying in explicit terms, he certainly implies, that the troubles which New Zealand had brought upon England were so great as to make the development of that most interesting and instructive of all colonies a public misfortune. One hardly knows in what terms to characterize such an opinion, and prefers to hope that Gladstone did not hold it.—See *Parl. Debates*, 3d series, vol. 221, cols. 1285-1286.

² July 30.

³ *Our Colonial Empire*, printed in full in the *Times* of Nov. 6, p. 10.

at the time Mr. Forster was walking in the dry places of opposition seeking rest and found Imperial Federation, but certainly the adhesion to the scheme of a statesman so popular and so universally respected gave the plan a dignity and influence which it had not before possessed. For a time, however, other public men seemed to hesitate to follow the example set by Mr. Forster, and no progress was made toward the actual adoption of a federal organization until early in the eighties, when the difficulties crowding upon the Empire in both foreign and colonial affairs created a strong, though apparently a temporary, current in favor of some immediate action.

The step then taken was the organization of the Imperial Federation League, and the circumstances which brought this about are very significant and lend much support, in my opinion, to the belief that if federation is ever adopted as the actual constitution of the British Empire, it is far more likely to be done in some moment of threatening danger, than as the result of any amount of discussion in peaceful times. These circumstances at home and abroad are best stated in the words of Mr. Greswell, a writer of note on colonial subjects.¹ He says: it was "a period of political unrest, agitation, and doubt. * * * Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa all contributed their share of anxiety at that time to the rulers of this country, and the English people themselves seemed to be walking along an endless valley of humiliation. Forces were at work which seemed powerful for evil, and in many places to make for rebellion, war and the disintegration of the Empire. The heart of the nation was touched to the core by the base desertion of Gen. Gordon in Egypt, and the ignominy was felt by our colonists to extend far beyond the frontiers of the Empire. In South Africa there had been an unparalleled record of disaster and disgrace, since 1879-80, and on the borders of the Transvaal, in Zululand, on the south west coast, and even in Kaffirland and Pondoland the good name of England had for several years been impeached. In Ireland the 'Cavendish' tragedy had for once stirred national sentiment to its utmost

¹ *The National Review*, vol. 14, p. 186.

depths and caused a tremor of apprehension to pass over the land. * * * Abroad and especially in the Pacific and along the African coasts there seemed to be indications on the part of France and Germany of taking advantage of England's extraordinary misfortunes and we heard of annexations in many unexpected places. The Congo conference was really a snub to England and Prince Bismarck guided, if he did not head, the German craze for a colonial Empire."

Already, early in the year referred to, 1884, some of the most devoted friends of imperial federation had reached the conclusion that the time had come for a forward step. They formed the plan of bringing together a conference of prominent men, without reference to party, but interested in maintaining the unity of the Empire, for the purpose of discussing the next move to be made to further the cause. This proposal received the hearty support of Mr. Forster, and a voluntary committee was at once formed to carry it out.¹ It was the feeling excited by the difficulties besetting the nation which have just been recounted that gave a general support to the idea of some immediate action, and it was in the spirit natural to such a time that the conference met at the end of July of this year. As described in the *Times* of the next day,² the conference "included representatives official, and unofficial, of all the more important colonies, and conspicuous members of both political parties at home. Mr. Forster was in the chair and was supported by Lord Roseberry, Lord Wemyss, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Stanhope, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Bryce, and other public men of every shade of opinion. Ex-governors of the principal dependencies of the crown, such as Lord Normanby, and Sir Henry Barkly, were there as well as military and naval officers of distinction to whom the defense of the Empire is a problem of the highest practical interest, and colonial High Commissioners and Agents-general and ministers in large numbers."

The result of this conference was the organization of the Imperial Federation League a few weeks later, with Mr. Forster as

¹ Labilliere, *Federal Britain*, p. 28.

² July 30.

its first president. On the death of Mr. Forster not long afterward, the Earl of Roseberry became its second president, and when he took office he was succeeded by Mr. Stanhope of the Conservative party.

In reviewing the work done by the league, and passing judgment on it, it is well to know just what it undertook to do, as stated in the resolutions adopted by the conference by which it was organized. The first of these declared, "that in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential." The second, declared the League organized "for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantage which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organization."¹ It was in influencing public opinion, if not in proving the particular thesis, that the great work of the League was done. The very organization itself, by bringing together in support of the project so large a number of the leaders of both parties, went far to produce upon public opinion a decided effect.

Branches of the League were organized in different places throughout England and in Canada and Australia, while in South Africa a league which had already been formed for a similar purpose, called the Empire League, joined the alliance. A monthly journal was established, and named *Imperial Federation*, to advocate the measures of the League, which continued in publication for a time after the League itself had been dissolved. In 1887 the government, at the suggestion of the League, called a conference of colonial representatives to meet in London, which discussed questions of common interest, though that of federation was purposely excluded, and led as one result to the formation of the Australian naval squadron,—a beginning of colonial contributions to the permanent defense of the Empire. So successful was this conference, that two years later, in July, 1889, the League took steps to induce the government to call another; but Lord Salisbury decided that circumstances were not favorable to such a conference, and declined to entertain the

¹ Lord Brassey, *Papers and Addresses: Imperial Federation*, p. 8.

proposal. Two years later still, in 1891, a deputation of the League renewed the request, but Lord Salisbury again declined to issue the call. He suggested instead, that the League might perform a valuable service by drawing up a definite plan of federation for the instruction of the public.¹ In response, the League appointed a distinguished committee which formulated a somewhat general plan and presented it to Mr. Gladstone, who had then succeeded Lord Salisbury as prime minister.² Though the second conference desired by the League did not meet, the very useful conference of 1894, which was held in Canada, may be regarded as in part at least a result of its activity. These two precedents of successful conferences make it likely that others will be held in the future; and while they are hardly a step toward formal federation,—more likely on the whole to be an obstacle in its way,—they are of great service in maintaining and drawing closer the real unity of the Empire.

Other less formal efforts during these years to interest the public in the purposes of the League, might be mentioned, like the prizes offered for essays on the subject, by the London Chamber of Commerce, and the tour which Mr. Parkin, a Canadian by birth, and one of the ablest advocates of federation, undertook of all the principal colonies, to awaken interest by holding public meetings which he addressed.

After a few years of activity, it became evident that there were very decided differences of opinion among the members of the League as to the specific objects desired, and that efforts to advance any particular plan in the future would be very greatly embarrassed by these differences, even to the injury of the general cause to which all were ready to subscribe.³ So pronounced had these differences finally become, that the most devoted friends of federation were driven to the conclusion that the real purposes of the League would best be served by its dissolution.

¹ *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

² *Ibid.*, chap. viii. For text of the report, see appendix iv.

³ See an article on the dissolution of the League in the *National Review*, vol. 22, p. 814, and Lord Brassey, *Imperial Federation*, pp. 232-234.

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This was accordingly proposed in the spring of 1893, and formally accomplished in November of that year. Since that date there has been no organized body in existence whose object it is to further the adoption of an imperial federal government, and though the idea has been by no means abandoned, formal discussion of the subject has been less frequent. In a brief history of this movement, we may regard the dissolution of the League as the proper point at which to attempt a statement of the results which have been produced, though these have been to a considerable extent implied in what has already been said.

First and most important as determining all that follows, is the awakened public opinion, the increased interest of the mass of Englishmen in the colonies, of which I spoke at the beginning of this address. This must not be understood to be the work of the League alone. It was rather the result of a variety of causes. It was behind the popular reaction against the policy of the Liberal cabinet of 1869, and of that reaction the League itself was one result. The change in the national feeling would have taken place to a great extent if the League had never been organized, but the service of the League in this direction was very important. Its peculiar mission was to set forth a definite plan to be realized, and to urge its adoption by the Empire. A specific programme attracted wider attention than the mere expression of feeling or of personal judgment, however weighty. A practical object to work for, even if so difficult as the adoption of an untried system of government, created new interest and strengthened the feeling already existing. To deepen interest into that determination, which Englishmen and colonists alike now profess, that the unity of the Empire must be made permanent, and if necessary by some form of political organization, was chiefly the work of the Imperial Federation League.

With this change has come in a truer estimate of the value of the colonies to England, not as mere producers of wealth, but as an expansion of the race, almost as a component part of the nation. The feeling of the colonies themselves is better understood, and the bond of union between them and the mother country is stronger and truer than when the government at-

tempted to draw it more close by constant interference. Originating itself in a reaction against the policy of dissolution, the federation movement has made that policy impossible for the future. No government will ever again venture to go so near to forcing independence on the colonies, without reference to their wishes and unknown to the public, as did that of Gladstone. The old belief, indeed, in the certainty of colonial independence has practically disappeared, and with it the doctrine that England should strive to make herself wealthier and happier by throwing off all outside responsibility and by seeking her interests within the four seas alone.

The force of this public opinion has had its natural and legitimate effect upon the political parties. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of the Liberal party, most of whose leaders were at one time contaminated by anti-colonial theories. Now, only an occasional voice is lifted in that party in the old strain — never, I think, against maintaining the colonies, but only on the burden of Empire. In fact, so thoroughly has imperial unity come to be the policy of all England, that for many years, now, no practical difference in this particular can be distinguished in the public records of the two parties.

If there is no longer any danger of the dissolution of the Empire from the action of an English cabinet, one further result, in part at least, of the imperial federation movement is, that there is also no further danger of the sort from the action of the colonies. The colonists were never, it is true, possessed with that desire for independence which the dissolution theories took for granted. Occasional prominent advocates of that policy were to be found in some of the colonies about the middle of the century, like Dr. Lang of New South Wales and, for a time, Sir Alexander Galt of Canada, but their following was never large, and they would find even less to-day. While the colonists themselves were never active in support of imperial federation, except in individual cases, the discussion awakened their attention anew to the advantages of their connection with England, and revealed to them the strength of the feeling of imperial patriotism at home, and of pride in the colonies which they had not always had reason to suspect, at least from the

action of the government. One evidence of the new feeling of the colonies towards the Empire; especially significant because almost unknown in the past, is their greater interest in its defense and their willingness to make contributions to it, like the recent offer of the little colony of Natal to supply coal free of cost to Her Majesty's war ships that may call for it. If the time should ever come, it has been said, when the colonies desire imperial federation and ask for it, then it will be realized; and we may add, that it will probably not be until that time does come; but such a desire is likely to arise whenever a closer organization and a more centralized command of all resources seem to the colonies necessary to their safety.

The members of the Imperial Federation League did not succeed in answering all the objections which were advanced against their plan. Urged also, repeatedly, by their opponents to show why federation should be adopted, their only satisfactory answer was defense—a need not likely to be realized until it arises. Urged again to propose some practicable federal constitution,—as by Lord Salisbury in the instance mentioned,—they were able to answer only in general terms. But though the objections stand in the record of the discussion unanswered, no difficulty has been suggested which is not likely to prove in practice less of an obstacle than it seems in theory.

As a matter of fact, it is not the existence of objections, however serious, nor the inability of the League to formulate a feasible plan, which has prevented the actual adoption of a federal system. None of the objections so far advanced would be felt to be insuperable, if any urgent need existed of a federal government of the whole Empire. It is the absence of any such need, the feeling that the Empire is safe as it is, that no present improvement is to be made by the proposed change answerable to the possible inconvenience and difficulty of such an organization, that has prevented any experiment in actual federation. If an imperative necessity ever arises, Anglo-Saxon political genius, which has already created at least one great and successful federation in the face of obstacles as serious and without the light of experience to show the way, can be trusted

to overcome the difficulties and to form a single successful government of the Empire.

May I venture, in conclusion, to add a word of application to ourselves. Great as was the work of the federation movement, a greater remains yet to be done. The unity of the Anglo-Saxon race as a whole is a higher and nobler ideal for which to strive, than the unity of the British Empire, lofty as that conception is. To strive for the one, does not fall to us who are not citizens of the empire. The realization of the other is pre-eminently our work; and if it is ever accomplished it will be because we have willed it and determined that it shall be. Nothing that England can do will bring it about, except as her action may move us to decision. A single word of ours, like the word which we are told England spoke for us at the beginning of our war, would suffice, by its simple speaking, to establish a unity of the race, for the world would then know that danger to the least of our lands, or to any protected land, would bring the whole race forward in its defense. And this is all that is needed. A federal government is not necessary, nor even a formal alliance. Only a determined resolution, backed by ready power of action, that in the age which is now coming on, when the frontiers of the races draw together and a struggle between them, if it comes, will be the last and the decisive one of history — a determined resolution that in such an age our race shall act as one in behalf of a civilization which is one.

The old attack upon the Empire, whose history I have told, is past, but attacks have not ceased with the gaining of this victory. They are to-day no longer directed against unity and permanence, but against its morality. The cruelty and selfishness of conquest, the wickedness of expansion for mere trade, the demoralizing influence of ruling inferior races, these are the new charges, and the occasional voices lifted in this strain half a century ago have now become a full cry. The justice of these accusations no man can wholly deny. In the history of the British Empire there are many pages only to be read with shame. Our own history records a like story. If we are to undertake in the future still more difficult rule than in the past, we must acknowledge that in all probability we shall have

occasion to blush for many things. Of the beginning we need not be ashamed. A war of mere conquest is one thing. A war begun in the interests of humanity, which entails still further obligations, is quite another. In meeting these obligations, if we are honest with ourselves, if we use our best men, if our rule is more for others than for ourselves, the time will come when our work will be worth all that it may cost, and be so regarded by the world.

The chorus of these accusers is in itself a most hopeful sign. It could no more have been possible, one hundred years ago, than the new idea of race unity, or the steamboat and the telegraph, which make that unity actual. It is a sign of quickened and quickening conscience; and the man who joins the cry is performing, after his kind, a valuable service to the future. But surely that man is blind to his own times, who does not see that under this new attack the judgment and heart of the race are as sound as under the old. There is no determination which has grown so rapidly and so strongly in this nation in the last generation, and I believe the same to be true of England, as the determination to do justice ourselves to other men, to protect the weak, to check wherever possible the merely rapacious, and to hold our institutions, our civilization, and our religion in trust for all men. With this resolution at heart, the nation may make mistakes; it may be badly led; it may not always be able to distinguish between the mere scheming of the politician and the line of true policy; nor always know how to do what it does know should be done; it cannot in a generation free itself from selfishness and greed. If we embark upon empire, we shall not do as well even as England does, and we shall suffer, and those we rule will suffer in consequence. But we shall learn, and we shall, at no distant day, do well. We are now ready, as I believe, to go forward and to find our place in that empire of our race which, under Providence and with all of evil that it includes, is the greatest power for good in the world that history has ever known. If we do go forward, may God grant that it be with our old watchword on our lips, and its new meaning in our hearts — "The Union, one and inseparable."

PURITAN INFLUENCE IN WISCONSIN.¹

BY ELLIS B. USHER.

In 1876 the late George William Curtis began an address before the New England Society of New York by recalling the remark, attributed by Izaak Walton to Dr. Botelier, "that doubtless God might have made a better berry than the strawberry, but doubtless he never did," with the application that "doubtless there might have been a better place to be born in than New England, but doubtless no such place exists."

In the same happy vein he said:

"The Mayflower, sir, brought seed, not a harvest. In a century and a half the religious restrictions of the Puritans had grown into absolute religious liberty, and in two centuries it had burst beyond the limits of New England, and John Carver of the Mayflower had ripened into Abraham Lincoln of the Illinois prairie."

This is the historical epitome of the settlement of the West. The fact, also alluded to by Mr. Curtis, that every American is a "Yankee" to the European, is the wide testimonial and acknowledgment of the pregnant Puritan influence upon our national character.

The tendency of emigration to follow latitude in the westward march of empire has been noticed and commented upon, as applying quite as well to emigrants of American birth as to those who come here from the old world. Perhaps there is no more marked illustration of this natural tendency than the westward movement of the Puritan stock.

The Northern Yankee from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont has followed the pine trees from New York to Puget

¹Address delivered before the State Historical Convention, at Madison, February 22, 1899.

Sound. The Connecticut and Massachusetts Yankees followed the Connecticut grant, scattering through Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York to some extent, but making their main lodgment with General Cleveland and his successors, in the "Western Reserve" of Ohio. This emigration extended to Iowa, and was to some extent diverted below its normal line by the anti-slavery troubles of Kansas.

In these general statements I think there is enough of truth to furnish suggestions for the lover of investigation. It is not the purpose of this paper to go into their merits. But the influence of this emigration is so apparent that I am tempted to deal with its manifestations in a State where it has hitherto attracted little attention — the State of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin, two years after its admission to the Union, in 1850, contained but 305,391 people. In 1860 it had grown to 755,881. This increase was largely due to foreign immigration, and of the 91,000 troops sent to the field during the war for the union, more than fifty per cent would, I think, be found to have been foreign born. Foreign blood has dominated the population from the beginning of her statehood, and the census of 1890 shows that of Wisconsin's 1,686,880 people, 74.14 per cent have one or both parents who were born aliens, 25.86 per cent are native born with native parents, and more than half the voters are still aliens by birth. In this foreign blood the Teutonic predominates, the major part of it is German, and, as our free institutions are a development from the spirit of the old frei-mark of Germany, and the Hanseatic cities, we find that no foreigner makes a more jealous and independent free-man than the German immigrant.

The average New Englander is likely to raise his eyebrows at this statement of the strength of our foreign-born element, for he is quite often oblivious to the fact that Boston has a bigger Irish population than Dublin, and that Massachusetts, according to the census of 1890, had 29.35 per cent of foreigners while Wisconsin had but 30.75 per cent. The difference is mainly to be found in the "native born" population. The great majority of the natives in Wisconsin are of the first and second generations in descent from foreign immigrants. Not to ex-

ceed 15,000 such natives could trace an ancestry in this country, reaching to or back of the revolutionary period, without admixture of foreign blood.

This is the fact that is most astonishing in this examination, and it is quite remarkable, in this aspect of the growth of the State, to find the great influence that the little leaven of Puritan blood has exerted from the very beginning.

Thinking that this testimony to the strength and endurance of the most American of American influences may be of use and value, as well as of interest, I have been tempted into writing this paper, more with the hope that the subject may prove inviting to some more capable hand, than with the expectation that I can here do it justice.

There were two constitutional conventions held in Wisconsin Territory. The first, whose constitution was rejected, held in 1846, contained 134 delegates. Of those delegates twenty-nine were known to be New England men, and ten others were of New England parentage, and of the forty-two natives of New York, who were then and have ever since been numerically strong and dominant, there were many names that suggest Puritan origin. In the second constitutional convention held in 1847, there were sixty-nine delegates; twenty-four of these were from New England and five were known to be of New England parentage. Of the thirty-two men who were members of these conventions, who held positions of prominence, fourteen were of New England birth or stock. Brief mention of them will be of interest.

Louis Powell Harvey, a member of the convention of 1847, was born in East Haddam, Conn. His family early joined the movement to the Western Reserve, where Louis got part of a college education at the Western Reserve College, at Hudson. In 1841 he located in what is now Kenosha, Wisconsin, and opened a school; then edited a Whig paper, and was postmaster of the place under President Tyler. Afterwards he lived in Clinton, then settled in Waterloo, whence he served two terms in the state senate, one term as secretary of state, was a regent of the state university and, in 1861, was elected governor. He had served only about four months as governor when he was

drowned by accidentally falling from a steamboat deck into the Tennessee river at Savannah. He had gone South to look after the welfare of the Wisconsin troops. His untimely end interrupted a most useful and promising career.

Harrison Reed, of Littlefield, Mass., one of the early editors of the State, was governor of Florida five years, 1868-73, and held minor public positions.

The most distinguished career was that of Alexander W. Randall, a native of New York, but the son of Phineas Randall, of Massachusetts. He was twenty-seven, in 1846, when he was elected to the constitutional convention. He distinguished himself there by introducing a resolution requiring the question of colored suffrage to be separately submitted to vote of the people. The resolution was adopted after an exciting debate, by a vote of fifty-three to forty-six. Mr. Randall served part of a term as circuit judge. He was governor of the State four years, 1858 to 1862, and was most efficient in raising troops early in the war. In 1862 he was appointed minister to Rome. Resigning in 1863 he sought a military appointment, but was induced by the president to accept the position of assistant postmaster general, which he filled until 1865, when he was made postmaster general.

Experience Estabrook, a native of New Hampshire, was attorney general of the State.

Wm. M. Denis, of Rhode Island, was State bank comptroller.

Edward V. Whiton, of Revolutionary stock, born in Lee, Massachusetts, served several terms in the territorial legislature and was a member of the judiciary committee of the first convention. He was elected a circuit judge immediately after the adoption of the constitution; the circuit judges sitting together *en banc* then constituted the supreme court, over which he for a season presided. When the separate organization of the supreme court was made, in 1852, he was elected chief justice, which position he filled with great ability and dignity until his death in 1859.

George Gale, a native of Vermont, held minor positions and served nine years as circuit judge. He helped organize Trempealeau county and founded the village of Galesville, and Gale

College, for which he left an endowment of \$10,000. He wrote a book on the "Upper Mississippi" that is already one of the rare and sought for books of Americana.

J. Allen Barber, of Vermont, served one term in the territorial legislature and five since the State organized. In 1863 he was speaker. He served two terms in the State senate, and two terms as representative in congress.

John H. Tweedy, a native of Connecticut, was a delegate in congress.

Frederick S. Lovell, of Vermont, was a colonel of volunteers.

The natives of New York who were of New England ancestry held positions as follows:

Charles H. Larrabee was a congressman, circuit judge, and colonel of volunteers.

A. Hyatt Smith and George B. Smith were attorneys general.

Eleazer Root was the State's first superintendent of public instruction. He was of Connecticut ancestry.

To go on with this investigation from the members of the constitutional convention to the men of prominence in the later development of the State, it is apparent that the activity and force of this New England element in public affairs has been maintained with a record quite disproportionate to the smallness of its numbers, as compared with the rest of our population.

To look over our list of governors, who, including Gov. Edward Scofield, number eighteen, one is first struck with the fact that the only aliens by birth who have ever held the office were Lieut. Gov. Arthur McArthur, a Scotchman, who served four days in 1856, during a contest between rival claimants for the office; Edward Salomon, a German, who was not elected to the office but succeeded to it from the lieutenant governorship upon the death of Governor Harvey, and Gov. William E. Smith, a Scotchman, the only foreign-born citizen who ever held the office by election.

The list, in order, with nativity, is as follows:

Nelson Dewey	1848-1852	Connecticut
Leonard J. Farwell	1852-1854	New York
Wm. A. Barstow	1854-1856	Connecticut
Arthur McArthur	1856-4 days	Scotland

Coles Bashford	1856-1858	New York
Alex. W. Randall	1858-1862	New York
Louis P. Harvey	1862-3 mos.	Connecticut
Edward Salomon	April, 1862-1864	Germany
James T. Lewis	1864-1866	New York
Lucius Fairchild	1866-1872	Ohio
C. C. Washburn	1872-1874	Maine
Wm. R. Taylor	1874-1876	Connecticut
Harrison Ludington	1876-1878	New York
Wm. E. Smith	1878-1882	Scotland
Jeremiah M. Rusk	1882-1889	Ohio
Wm. D. Hoard	1889-1891	New York
George W. Peck	1891-1895	New York
Wm. H. Upham	1895-1897	Massachusetts
Edward Scofield	1897-	Pennsylvania

Beginning with Governor Dewey, who was born in the "Nutmeg State," five of the eighteen were New England men by birth, while Governor Fairchild, who had a distinguished civil and military career, was born of Massachusetts parents. He was Consul to Liverpool, Minister to Spain, National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and also of the Loyal Legion.

Governor Rusk's name suggests the Yankee filtered through the Western Reserve.

Randall and Peck are known to have a like origin, and other names suggest the same lineage.

Of all these men, probably the ablest and the most distinguished was Cadwallader Colden Washburn, who was one of a remarkable family, three brothers of which simultaneously represented three different States in congress for several terms during the civil war, and a younger brother has since been United States senator. He settled in Wisconsin in 1842, at Mineral Point, where he formed a partnership with Cyrus Woodman, also a native of Maine, that lasted for eleven years, and laid the ground-work for large fortunes for both of them. They practiced law to some extent, but the development of the country drew them into the land and banking business and resulted

in a large ownership of pine in Northern Wisconsin, that later grew to great value. Mr. Washburn was elected to congress in 1854 and this partnership was dissolved, though the two men were forever after devoted friends and frequently interested in each other's enterprises. Mr. Washburn served five terms in congress, and his civil career was supplemented by three years' service in the army, most of the time with the rank of major general. His business operations after the war were mainly devoted to his large flouring industry at Minneapolis, though he retained his Wisconsin residence and interest in lumbering to the last. He was a man of large abilities, great force and perfect rectitude.

It is a notable fact that in the supreme court the two justices who were of foreign birth, both of them jurists of great ability, James G. Ryan and Samuel Crawford, were natives of Ireland, and that notwithstanding our large preponderance of German blood, it has made few conspicuous successes in the law. The State has never had a justice of the supreme court, nor, until recently, a circuit judge of German birth.

Like the list of governors, the list of justices of the supreme court begins with a New England name, to which I have already alluded, Chief Justice Whiton. Luther S. Dixon, a native of Vermont, was another distinguished chief justice. These and Jason Downer, also a Vermonter, are the only New England men who have been justices since the separate court was organized, until the recent appointment of Justice Dodge; but New York, which has furnished ten of the seventeen, has several to her credit who must go to New England for a pedigree.

The same conditions obtain as to the circuit bench, where New York has continued to furnish a large share of the judges, as such names as Doolittle, Larrabee and Wentworth would plainly suggest.

Of the men of New England birth who have occupied the circuit bench, Timothy O. Howe, his nephew James H. Howe, and G. W. Washburn, all of Maine; Wyman Spooner, of Massachusetts; L. S. Dixon, George Gale, George W. Cate and O. B. Wyman, of Vermont, are the principal names. Of these

James H. Howe, who was also a United States district judge, Luther S. Dixon, Wyman Spooner, and George W. Cate would easily lead the list.

Wisconsin has had, including the present incumbents, eleven United States senators whose average of ability and influence has been remarkably high. Four of these men, Charles Durkee, Mathew Hale Carpenter, Philetus Sawyer and William Freeman Vilas, were natives of Vermont; Timothy O. Howe, already alluded to, was from Maine; Mr. Doolittle's ancestry runs back to Connecticut; John C. Spooner's father was born in Massachusetts, though he was himself born in the Western Reserve, and John L. Mitchell's mother is a native of Massachusetts.

Throughout the field of public life the Yankee and his descendants have held this prestige. I find them among the State superintendents of schools, as witness the names of Josiah L. Pickard, Edward Searing, Lyman C. Draper, Wm. C. Whitford, Jesse B. Thayer and John Q. Emery; while a suggestion of the source of our educational inspiration is found in the names of the Rev. A. L. Chapin, of Beloit College; Rev. William Harkness Sampson, of Lawrence University; Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who endowed the university that bears his name; Edward Cooke, of Boston, its first president; Rev. J. W. Walcott, president of Ripon College in 1853; Rev. C. Whitford, president of Milton College; Simeon Mills, who, as one of the first regents, bought the site and superintended the erection of the first building for the State University; John H. Lathrop, first chancellor, Henry Barnard, the second chancellor, the Rev. John Bascom and the present incumbent, Charles Kendall Adams, of its later presidents, and many other men of New England origin, have had great influence in this field.

It is an interesting fact that when the civil war began in 1861, the roster of every early regiment, and the names on every early subscription paper, bore testimony to the patriotism of the descendants of the Pilgrims, and among the Wisconsin men who won distinction in the field they bore a noble part. Of the commanders of the famous "Iron Brigade," General Lysander Cutler was a native of Massachusetts, while General Edward S.

Bragg, who has since served in congress and made a national reputation in civil life, is the grandson of a man who fought under the stern old fellow who said, at Bennington, that he would win the fight or leave Molly Stark a widow. General Fairchild's ancestry is in Massachusetts, and General John A. Kellogg's in Connecticut. This brief allusion to a most distinguished command is typical of the Wisconsin record in that war.

In special fields, two of Wisconsin's most famous citizens, Lyman C. Draper and Increase A. Lapham, are to be counted among the descendants of New England. The former helped to form the school system of the State and did a wonderful work in making the Wisconsin State Historical Society one of the greatest depositories of Americana in this country, a shrine that every historian of the West must visit. The latter, as a geologist and student of anthropology, gave an early impulse to the study of the natural wonders of the State and left enduring monuments to his own patient research.

From the days of 1767, when John Carver of Connecticut first put Yankee foot on Wisconsin soil, the forests have been the temptation to many of the new Pilgrims from the East. Every township of pine in the State will bear testimony to their visitations. At Green Bay the first lumberman (1827) was Col. Ebenezer Childs.

Daniel Whitney was the first man to invade the pine forests of the Wisconsin river in 1827-8. H. S. Allen, a Maine Yankee, was sawing lumber in Dunn county in 1835. And the long line of New England names has many who have been known in other fields: Philetus Sawyer, C. C. Washburn and Daniel Wells, Jr., served in congress, while the Cranes and Libbys of Oshkosh; the Shaws, Randalls, Marstons, and Eastons, Eau Claire; Hixons, Colmans, Pettibones, Holways, Bussells, Withees, La Crosse, and dozens of other prominent names to be found in every lumber district of the State, attest the activity and success of the New Englander in this chosen field of industrial enterprise.

Among the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee, the metropolis of the State, T. A. Chapman, of Maine, amassed a fortune and led the trade in dry goods.

Edward P. Allis, of Massachusetts, led not merely the State, but the Northwest, in the manufacture of steam engines and mill and other machinery; while such men as J. H. Mead (Vermont), of Sheboygan, banker and manufacturer; Abel Keyes (Vermont), lumberman and miner of Menasha; Lucius Blake (Vermont), manufacturer, of Racine; Arabut Ludlow (Vermont), of Monroe, banker and businessman; Rufus B. Kellogg (Massachusetts), banker, Oshkosh and Green Bay; Augustus Ledyard Smith (Connecticut), Appleton; H. H. West (Connecticut), and Levi H. Kellogg, L. A. Wheeler (Vermont), Charles H. Larkin (Connecticut), Abner Kirby (Maine), and Franklin J. Blair (Massachusetts), prominent Milwaukee merchants, suggest the general diffusion of the enterprising Yankee throughout all the pioneer mercantile enterprises.

In another important field of development, that of railroads, New England blood has been much in evidence. In the early days of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, Byron Kilbourn of Connecticut, and E. D. Holton of New Hampshire, were leading spirits. S. S. Merrill, who came to be its general manager, was another New Hampshire man, as was his assistant, H. C. Atkins. Wm. R. Sill one of the early chief engineers, and his assistant H. I. Bliss, were both from Connecticut. H. C. Dodge, one of the later engineers, was from Connecticut, and Don J. Whittemore, the present chief engineer, was born in Vermont. John Catlin, who was one of the moving spirits, and president of the Milwaukee & Mississippi road, the present Prairie du Chien division of the C., M. & St. P. road, was a Vermonter. Perry H. Smith, James H. Howe, and other leading spirits of the Chicago & Northwestern system, were likewise from the East. David M. Kelley, of Massachusetts, built the Green Bay road; D. A. Baldwin, H. H. Porter (Maine), John C. Spooner and Edwin E. Woodman, a descendant of Edward Woodman, of Newbury, Mass., are among the leading names of the Omaha system, while the Wisconsin Central was built by Gardiner Colby, his son Charles L., and the Abbots, all Yankees.

In no field has the influence of New England been more potent in forming Wisconsin than in the press. Among the pioneer editors are General Rufus King (Massachusetts an-

cestry, father of Brig. Gen. Chas. King, soldier and writer), General Albert G. Ellis (Massachusetts stock), C. C. Sholes, his brother Charles Latham Sholes (Connecticut), Daniel W. Ballou (Vermont), Maj. L. H. Drury (Vermont), Sterling P. Rounds (Vermont), Henry Leach Devereaux (Massachusetts), Chas. S. Benton (Maine), Chas. Seymour (Vermont), Harrison Reed (Massachusetts), David Atwood (New Hampshire), George H. Paul (Vermont), Levi Alden (Vermont), and a host of others, are on this roll. General Ellis started the first Wisconsin newspaper at Green Bay, in 1822.

The ministers among the pioneers were many of them of New England stock or ancestry. The names of Cutting Marsh, Brunson, Irish, Colman, Chapin, Sherwin, Clapp, Goodenough, McClellan and Kidder, are a suggestive supplement to those already mentioned among the promoters of the schools and colleges.

There is no need to multiply names or suggest fields for investigation. The Yankee was a pioneer in every part of Wisconsin. He has linked his name with every important industry, except that of brewing, and with every section of the State. Though few in numbers, the New England men have been a potent factor in shaping this commonwealth, and however the foreign blood has or may predominate, theirs is the pattern that has been set and must be followed.

It has sometimes been a matter of wonder that Wisconsin, so overwhelmingly foreign in its population, should be so distinctively American in all its institutions of government, in its educational impulse and its progress. I have endeavored to solve the question in these inquiries, incomplete and hasty as I have been compelled to make them. Wisconsin institutions have been dominated by Americans of the Puritan seed from the beginning.

In this exposition of what will to some be a new idea as to the dominant influence in the upbuilding of this great commonwealth, there has been no intention or desire to belittle the character, ability, or influence of any of its other worthy inhabitants. It is not less their privilege to enjoy glorification of their own nativity, nor less their right to be proud of the fact

that they were nurtured under other than New England skies, because the Yankee cheerfully admits his own importance.

In truth, the principal points in the Yankee's favor seems to be his large influence in proportion to numbers, his force, and his ubiquity.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BELOIT, AS TYPICAL OF THE BEST WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE AMERICAN STOCK.¹

BY HENRY M. WHITNEY, M. A.

Externally, the settlement of Beloit was not so very different from what has been found in other parts of the State; but internally it had distinctive features, and those were such as may be called typical of the best pioneering work of the people of American stock. Beloit never went through the period of cowboy domination, with saloons as the chief ornaments of the streets, and the crack of the revolver as the chief diversifier of the monotony of daily life; indeed, it was a long time before the saloon was tolerated, and it has never had great prominence or influence. Beloit never had many people of the restless sort who come to pick up land as a speculation, selling out and moving westward as soon as they can get their price; such people, so far as they came there, on taking a good look at the situation, traveled on without stopping to invest. The pioneers of Beloit came to stay, and their children and grandchildren are still foremost in the life of the city, or have gone elsewhere because there came to them a call. Beloit had many of that class which endures the hardships and makes the sacrifices, spending their strength in the pioneer days, — perhaps, like Dr. Horace White, laying down their lives under the stress, — leaving the profits of the advancing prices and the enjoyment of the advancing comfort, to those who came in at a later day.

The Rock River valley having been opened to settlement by the Black Hawk War, population swarmed in. You know the charm of the whole valley through Rock county, the bold bluffs above Janesville, the projection of Big Hill into the expanse of

¹ Address delivered before the Historical Convention, at Madison, February 22, 1899.

prairie, and, lower yet, the location of Beloit, where the Rock is met by the Turtle, at what is now the state-line. The greater river comes down the narrower valley; the Turtle, using the valley of what was in geologic days a great river, draining a great geologic lake, comes westward from Delavan lake and empties its exceedingly various volume into the staid and uniform Rock. At the commanding corner, where the two lines of bluffs come together, is a place where a West Pointer would set an earthwork to command both valleys; indeed, perhaps it was the recognition of this strategic quality that made Major Philip Kearney buy a few city lots just there in the infant days of the village, and perhaps it was the Beloit spirit that made him give these lots with all cheerfulness when Beloit College was looking for a local habitation to add to its name. At the very corner the mound-builders had set a giant turtle, with his head toward the beautiful river scene; or perhaps only toward the fish of both streams and toward the long and shady ravine down which buffalo and deer loved to reach the river to drink; or, again, perhaps only so as to be able to keep one eye on the site of the future Janesville and the other on the sites of the future Rockton and Rockford; or perhaps to see that the state-line did not come any further up. I cannot undertake to answer for the motives of the mound-builders in shaping their totem at this commanding point, but I know that wandering Winnebagoes, long after the settlement of Beloit, came and took a look at their turtle; so, when private Abraham Lincoln went southward through the place, in returning from the surrender of Black Hawk, he found a Turtle Nillage, but it was not a white man's place. You may know that Beloit has the three types of prairie, the level on the north and south, — Rock and Winnebago prairies, — the rolling on the west, and the broken on the east. Fish were in the two streams in such numbers that they sometimes blocked the wheel of the settler's mill; the deer and the wild birds were equally abundant. Turtle Creek would furnish two small water-powers till the settlers could gather their means to dam the Rock. Then there was gravel, unlimited gravel, — six hundred feet or more, as we now know, — and that would appeal with immense force to the New Eng-

lander who had been toiling around the sandy end of Lake Michigan and then through the fathomless Chicago mud. Indeed, the first professor in Beloit College, struggling in Frink & Walker's stage through the hundred miles of mud from Chicago, at last, as the stage went down Roscoe hill, heard the crunch of gravel under the wheel; out went his head at the window, and he asked the driver how much farther it was to that place where he was to try to set a college in the prairie-grass. "Seven miles," said the driver, and the young professor took fresh courage, for he thought that it was an omen that the college, when founded, would never get entirely stalled.

But, to return: we must make out to see some picturesqueness in old Joseph Thiebault, the first white man known to have made Turtle Village his abode. He was a Frenchman trading with the Indians, and (for services rendered to General Scott as interpreter in negotiating, in 1833, a treaty by which the Winnebagoes ceded to the United States all their title to the territory between the lakes and the Mississippi) he claimed all the land lying about his cabin within "three looks." Even if he had two wives with a corresponding number of children, that is not counted a disadvantage nowadays, at least in the congress of the United States. I speak of Thiebault chiefly because he had a log-cabin, for, when Caleb Blodgett came, early in 1836, and for \$200 bought Thiebault's vast and rather dubious claim, the log-cabin, duly cleaned, became the abode of the settlers till they could build for themselves. It is not every community, even in the west, that can place its beginnings with so much exactness. Caleb Blodgett was a Vermonter by way of Ohio and New York, and he was, fortunately, a Beloit kind of man.

Now, let us go to New Hampshire, far north of the White Mountains, and within a few miles of the Canadian line; there, on an affluent of the Connecticut River, is the quaint old village of Colebrook. Those who lived there must have been a hardy race, fit for pioneering. In that village was a group of twelve men who felt that the world had for them something larger and nobler than little Colebrook could ever afford. They formed the New England Emigrating Company in October, 1836, appointed Dr. Horace White their agent, and sent

him across the country by such conveyance as he could hire or buy, to find them a western home. R. P. Crane and O. P. Bicknell pushed westward too, and the three, after looking in many places, saw the strategic value of Turtle village and fixed their choice. They bought one-third of the Blodgett claim and returned to Colebrook to gather up their families and their goods. It has been said that the life went out of Colebrook when they left; I should prefer to say that these men had the vision to see the future to which Colebrook was necessarily destined, and the will-power to get into the path of empire while they were physically fresh. I fear Colebrook would have been as completely overshadowed even if they had stayed. By mid-summer in 1837, the colonists were in their new abode and were breaking the wilderness to the service of man.

Dr. White's wife was from Bedford, at the other end of New Hampshire, and that connection brought to Turtle Village six families of equal sturdiness and value in determining the character of the town. The stamp of the settlement was at once so individual that its fame spread far and wide. The New England Settlement it was called, and it got plenty of abuse for its positive ideas, but also attracted many who liked those ideas and wanted to cast in their lot with such a people. L. G. Fisher, searching for a place, came to Watertown, heard of the New England Settlement, floated down the Rock till he reached it, and was there in time to be chairman of the committee to find a new name for the settlement. It was he who, starting with *Belle* and *Detroit*, evolved the present name.

I have given these fragments of early history, not as new to the historian, but as new to many of you and therefore necessary as a framework in which to set what I may be able to say of a more abstract nature.

Now the first thing that I want to say about my subject, the settlement of Beloit as representing the best westward migration of the American stock, is that these men, and those whom they drew in after them in the earliest days, had an immense amount of practical sagacity. They knew enough to get out of the shadow of the Great White Hills (although if they had staid they might now at last be keeping hotels and coining money at

White Mountain prices from the summer-resorters); they made no mistakes in the steps they took to obtain a location and to settle upon it; they knew the moral value of having gravel under their feet; they knew good land; they knew the value of a quarry, and of good oak-trees; they were attracted by the New England-like look of the country, and especially of the River Rock; they saw that the Rock River Valley must prosper if anything in this region could; they saw that it was a fit seat for empire. It was a piece of hardheaded business-sense to transplant themselves and their households to a place of so much promise; they saw that if they placed themselves at Beloit things must come their way.

And again, they were physically and morally robust. Some of us remember the Irish that came to New England after the potato-famine in 1845; they were often bent almost double, with hooked hands, waxy faces, and wolfish glances; many of them did not know what a sidewalk was for. It is the pride of New England that fifty years of American life have made excellent citizens of the grandchildren of those physical wrecks and mental dwarfs, but it took fifty years and the tremendous power of the New England civilization to do it. I suppose the Italian and the Chinese who come to us are the most enterprising of their class, but the class is low; assisted immigration has dumped some poor material of manhood upon our shores. But just as most of the Germans, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Scotch are selected stock, so the early settlers of Beloit were selected men and women; they might have prospered in Colebrook, in Bedford, or in the other places whence they came, but they wanted something better yet. They faced the wilderness bravely; they lived, in a way that now seems amusing, by barter and credit; later they had the beauties of wild-cat banking and the business depression of 1836-37 to make them realize what financial quicksands are.

And again, they had large ideas, and so laid broad foundations. They platted the village in 1838 with broad New England-like streets,—streets that a New Englander recognizes at once,—and they made College street the name of one of the choicest. It is an interesting fact that, when the committee, appointed a few

years later to choose a site for the proposed college of the state. line, had viewed all the suggested locations, they not only selected Beloit as the town, but hesitated only between two locations, both fronting on that same street.

It is evident that from the start they meant to have a college. As I have wondered why that was, I have seemed to see three reasons: 1. That they were that kind of men: that of course was the fundamental fact. 2. That, being that kind of men, they had felt the great distance of the one college of New Hampshire from any of their old homes, and they wanted the luxury of having one within five minutes' walk—indeed, the plan to place it at the distance of a ten minutes' walk was suppressed. 3. I think they had a seer-like vision of what was likely to happen to them and their children if they did not nurse the church and the school. Have you not felt the sadness of the sight when people, bright by early associations and bright by the attrition of new experience and new acquaintance, have settled down without recognizing that brightening and elevating influences must be carefully fostered about them, and, lacking these, have lost intelligence and spirituality, and their children have lost moral life as well? The West, with all its boasted superiority to the East, has many such cases of degeneration, and they have sometimes proved plague-spots in the body of the state. Now I believe that the Beloit pioneers saw that vision with sufficient clearness to make them want the college as well as the church, that they and their children might be saved from such a fate.

I said that they wanted also the church: they brought along a deacon on purpose. Before they got a church building they worshiped in a kitchen, and the prairie people came in ox-wagons to attend. They started a church-building, getting shingles in Racine on credit, hauling them across the country by ox-power, the driver sleeping under the wagon at night, and they honestly paid for the shingles in the spring. The church that they built was the most stately of the three Congregational churches existing in Wisconsin in 1844,—so stately, indeed, that it got into two editions of the American Encyclopedia, but it was not built by people of wealth, except the wealth of devo-

tion. It is an interesting illustration of their breadth of interest, that when the Congregational church of Madison undertook to erect a house of worship, the people of Beloit, hardly yet emerged from log-houses into houses made of the hard-wood product of their saw-mill, put their hands into their pockets deeply enough to get \$50 to help the folks up here.

They had also great tenacity of purpose. They had experiences that would have made many other towns give up the ghost. They made mistakes, as we strewed our way with errors all through the war with Spain; but they lived down their mistakes, as we hope sometime to see a happy issue of this dreadful Philippine mess. As with us, so with them, the way out was forward and upward. And, finally, they had great elevation of character. You remember that the Indian and the star on the coat-of-arms of Massachusetts are said to mean that the settlers of Massachusetts wanted the star of Bethlehem to shine over the shoulder of the red man whom they found here, to guide him on his way. I have sometimes wished that the motto of Wisconsin were something more elevating than *Forward*; one can at least read into it the sense of *upward*, for that was what many of them meant. Those Beloit settlers meant *upward* when they pressed *forward* from their homes a thousand miles away. They brought the New Hampshire and Vermont brand of civilization and religion, while the more southern parallels were being filled by people of the Connecticut and Massachusetts kind. That difference may be read all over Wisconsin whenever we come upon cities or towns established by people of American stock. They wanted to make a commonwealth that should be good and great. They had magnificent help from men of other nationalities, they had the good sense to coöperate with them wisely, and the two produced a state of which we all are proud.

The other day I was reading about the adoption of seals by various Massachusetts towns. The selectmen have aimed to have something significant of local history: Rutland uses the tree standing at the geographical center of the state. Gardner takes the figure of Sir Thomas Gardner, from whom the town was named; Brookfield pictures the burning

load of hay that the savages pushed against the very last house when they had destroyed all the rest of the ancient village.

Then I said, what representative seal shall we give to Beloit? I understood the significance of the badger for the whole commonwealth: he has a great nose for business; he does no harm if he is not molested, but can make life a burden for those who trouble him; he is remarkable for the skill and the effectiveness with which he scratches the earth. That will do very well for the badger, although we have to spiritualize his attributes a little to be wholly satisfied to have him stand for our state; we wish he could do something better than dig. Then I thought that the totem left by the Winnebagoes would not be so very bad for the seal of Beloit, for Beloit has as yet no seal. The public-library seal has at the center a yawning blank, and the turtle-totem is the thing to fill it. He is looking in the right direction, he is always on duty, he represents an animal that may be slow but is always safe; indeed, one of the race is fabled to have once outrun the speedy but unreliable hare. When our cities and towns follow the example of Massachusetts in this excellent matter of seals, as they are nobly following her example in the provision of public libraries and some other good things, the badger will stand for Wisconsin, the turtle for Beloit, and the seal of a wise and steady progress, intellectualized, spiritualized, working upward as well as forward, will stamp all our public affairs.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REGIME IN THE VALLEY OF THE FOX.¹

BY ELLA HOES NEVILLE.

The three great nations which fought at different times for the possession of the new world, each left the mark of their influence, which remained for a time on the settlements which they had made. The invasion of the Spanish, in the 16th century, was an invasion by fierce warriors inspired by lust of gold and conquest. The civilization which they founded was scarcely better than that they supplanted. After them came the French, full of the spirit of adventure, with the Jesuit fathers urgent to win the souls of the conquered people, and gather them within the bosom of the Church. Religion and the fur trade went into the wilderness hand in hand; it was expected to found an empire on peaceful traffic, and the gospel of good will.

The English, a nation which left the most lasting influence on people and customs, thought little and cared less for the welfare of the native possessor of the lands. They drove the savage tribes from their hunting grounds; went in and inhabited, or ravaged and destroyed. The policy of the French was different. They came with the spirit of genial comradeship; married and inter-married, and reared their dusky race in the forests — a race from which are descended some of the first families of Wisconsin.

As bold and hardy pioneers of the wilderness, the Frenchman has rarely found his equal. In his own country, what he had of civic ability faded under the voluptuous court of Versailles, while his mind and heart were kept in leading-strings by a

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

church which was absolute. The new world gave him unbridled liberty; it also gave scope for his energies, and showed the stuff of which he was made. Consequently it became the field of his most noteworthy accomplishments. Here he led the way in the path of discovery, always in peril, but with an indomitable spirit that overcame difficulties and laughed at danger.

When on the Plains of Abraham, New France passed into possession of the English, there was little change in the life of the French habitan. England succeeded to the policy of the French people, who were never colonists; they had not encouraged settlements, and England followed in the same path. She wished the land of the great Northwest to remain a wilderness — the home of the trapper and the fur trader, of the Indian hunter and the French voyageur; a barrier against the growth of the seaboard colonies toward the interior.

Here in Wisconsin, near the old fort at the mouth of Fox River, a little group of French hamlets had been planted, differing in culture and refinement from most other French settlements. Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, in a general summing up of the French in that part of the country, says: "Three generations of isolated life in the wilderness had greatly changed the character of the trader, trapper, bateauman, and adventurous warrior. It was inevitable that they should borrow many traits from their savage friends and neighbors. Hospitable but bigoted to their old customs, ignorant, indolent and given to drunkenness, they spoke a corrupt jargon of the French tongue. All their attributes seemed alien to the polished army officer of old France." It is clearly evident that Roosevelt had never made a study of the French and their descendants in the Fox River Valley, or he would have qualified this broad statement. In contrast to his estimate of the French settler, listen to what an old-time resident of Green Bay wrote in the early years of the century — and this a long time after that of which Roosevelt wrote, when race differences would have grown less, and deterioration of the French greater: "The settlers of Green Bay lived in primeval simplicity; of all people they seemed the most innocent, honest, truthful and unsuspecting. * * * They inherited their manners from their forefathers, the French, and

politeness and good breeding was the rule, from the highest to the lowest. It gave them ease and gracefulness of deportment, often a surprise and a reproach to the Yankees, rendering their company acceptable and engaging with the most cultivated and polite, and insuring in their intercourse with each other the preservation of friendly feeling and good will. * * * Frenchmen who have visited Green Bay have remarked on the purity with which the French language was spoken there compared with the Canadas." ¹

I have wondered if the title of this paper were not somewhat of a misnomer. The French left no lasting impression on the development of Wisconsin as a whole; had they never come, the result would have been the same. Yet their influence is undoubtedly stamped on the character of the lower valley of the Fox, and the oldest town in the State, because of it, differs from any other western town.

Augustin de Langlade, the Father of Wisconsin, as we like to call him, planted, in the wilds of what is now a great State, the first home west of Lake Michigan, on the spot hallowed by the utterance of the first prayer to the living God. It stood on the banks of the Fox — about the site of the power-house of the electric street railway of the Green Bay of today — where, according to tradition, Allouez and his followers landed on the eve of the day of St. Francis Xavier, 1669, and celebrated mass, after their perilous journey.

The descendants of Charles de Langlade, son of Augustin, while not of pure blood, have yet been possessed of all the peculiarities of their French ancestry. They intermarried with other French families, which were gradually added to the settlement; and when the Americans came, the whole formed one neighborhood, controlled by French tastes and manners. The people were liberal, free-handed, and generous, intelligent and appreciative of the advantages of education. School-houses soon sprung up, and it is noted that every list of contributors to the support of the schools is liberally headed by a Grignon, a descendant of the De Langlades. The daughters of the family were sent to the convents of Montreal to complete their educa-

¹ A. G. Ellis's "Recollections," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 219, 220.

tion, and they returned to La Baye, modest and virtuous, with a good education in the French language, a smattering of music and the arts, and irreproachable manners.

The French nation has never been noted for any of the characteristics of our Puritan ancestors. They were volatile, fond of ease and amusement, and, while upright and honest, were not given to steadfastness of purpose. They took up land along the river,—two or three arpents wide, and running back indefinitely,—and cultivated these small farms just enough for the sustenance of the family—an easy task, for the land responded readily to cultivation, without the labor needed to revive an exhausted soil. Meat and fish were to be taken almost from the doorstep; and clothing was furnished from the spoils of the chase. The women had inherited from their ancestors a skill in culinary art; their preparation of the native foods was famed, even in foreign countries. Entertainment was lavish, without the weary restraints of formal etiquette and conventional rules. Under the low, bark roof there could always be found a fiddler ready to wield the bow, and moccasined feet tripped merrily to the gay tunes. Light and graceful, the native belles held sway, and many a young officer of aristocratic lineage forgot the claims of civilization in the witchery of their smiles.

Life was gayest in the autumn, for then the voyageurs from Quebec began to arrive on their way to the winter posts on the Mississippi. Their approach was heralded by the sound of gay boat-songs, caroled as they paddled their canoes up the river. They settled upon the little cantonment like a flock of birds of gay plumage, so brilliant was their attire. With shirts of gaudy stripes, blue trousers banded about the waist with scarlet sash, jauntily tied at one side, around the throat loosely-knotted colored kerchiefs, the head covered by a worsted cap or turban of variegated hue, this brilliant company always started a conflagration of fun, which, so long as they remained, ran riot.

In none of the other settlements of the State was life enjoyed to the same extent. Letters from the native youths exiled to the hamlet of Milwaukee are yet extant, in which the writers yearn for the pleasures of La Baye, especially for its music. "There isn't a fellow here who knows how to play a fiddle,"

bemoans one poor young man. Another, becoming unutterably weary of a winter there, made the long journey of over a hundred miles on snow shoes and alone, for only one week of unalloyed pleasure at La Baye Verte. It was then called "The City," in acknowledgment of its lively character.

The Grignons, Roys, Ducharmes, Brunettes, and Chevalliers formed a charmed circle. Some of them, through the fur trade, acquired considerable property, and were considered, for those days, wealthy men. Augustin Grignon, who had settled at the Kaukaulin rapids, lived in feudal style, and, with his Pawnee slaves and a number of engagés, exercised a hearty, though primitive, hospitality. His house was often so crowded at night as to inconvenience himself and family; but the cordial welcome, the happy smile, and the bountiful good cheer, never failed.

There were other men than those mentioned who left their stamp on the character of the first white settlement in Wisconsin — men of striking and impressive characteristics; but there is not time to individualize. This account, however, would be incomplete without at least brief mention of one who stands out a distinct figure. Judge Porlier was well born, of the old French nobility, and had received a good education in Montreal. It was said by those who knew him, that a few moments in his company assured you that you were in the presence of a man of culture and fine tastes. He was noted as well for his high moral character as for the purity and elegance of his language. Looked up to by his neighbors for counsel and assistance, many of their business papers are found to be in his handwriting; and nearly all, we are told, were made without compensation. It was not alone his superior intelligence and his high bearing as a gentleman which gave him the strong hold he had on the affections of the people, but his goodness of heart, and readiness at all times to help a friend.

The settlement at the mouth of the Fox passed slowly through the successive stages of village, town, city. A decade or so ago, it was sometimes dubbed old-fogyish and slow. It is true that the old town had gotten along in years before it threw off the spirit of the insouciant, happy beginning, and took on the

cold, commercial temper of other communities. It seemed, and yet seems, to hold an obligation to the past, which the present has not power to make it forget. There was a witchery about it that caused each new comer to throw off care, and live in the pleasure of the moment. The houses, through the lay of the farms along the river front, were not far apart, and in the town of Navarino there was a bond of goodfellowship which made the settlers as of one family. Even after the Americans outnumbered the French, there was an intoxication in the very atmosphere, under the spell of which each and all fell. The claims of business were never too pressing to give way to a dance, a sail, or a picnic party.

One bright morning the little town awoke to find itself left far behind in the march of progress. Since then it has never been quite the same. It will always hold its rich legacy from the past; but within the last decade or so, it has become a thriving commercial city. Men of business hold the reins, and the descendants of the old French habitants have yielded acre after acre of their rich possessions, until now they have little which they can call their own. There are but few of them left, but they have the veneration and respect of those who, in their turn, are now old settlers.

But a few years ago, there was occasionally to be met on the streets of the city, like a spirit of the past, a tall, stately woman, above the average height, of dignified presence and imperial bearing—one of the last of the descendants of the "Father of Wisconsin," Augustin de Langlade. Miss Ursule Grignon was a part of the best of the old French régime. Of a gentle, courtly manner, modest and retiring, with a fine command of language, her presence was always a delight. As one passed her on the street, in her black garb, with a shawl drawn tightly about her sloping shoulders, one intuitively felt her birth and breeding. It was a pleasure to receive her recognition, and the personality of her bow was as a benediction. Miss Grignon's last appearance at a social gathering—in early years she was one of the happiest, gayest, most eagerly sought dancers of them all—was in the old colonial home of one whom we of today love and respect, as a part of the last of the old

garrison days. She stood beside her hostess in a drawing room filled with spindle-legged furniture and old pictures, a charming presence, cheerfully, benignly receiving the greetings of the newer, younger, — I can not say better, — Green Bay; a link between the dreamy, peaceful life of the past, and the pushing, commercial existence of today.

The old French régime has passed away. It has, however, left, in the valley of the Fox, a heritage which clings as the odor of flowers to the vase which is shattered, perfuming and refining the rough vessel of clay.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS.¹

BY EMIL BAENSCH.

The English language, the simplest and purest of all mother tongues, is the legal language of this land of ours, and "seems chosen," as the philologist Grimm puts it, "to rule in the future in a still greater degree in all the corners of the earth." The existence of a large number of influential American newspapers, printed in foreign languages, may seem inconsistent with this statement, and yet needs neither palliation nor excuse. The existence of such a press is founded on necessity and sentiment. As long as emigration to this country continues, bringing adult persons who are strangers to our language, so long will interpreters be needed to transform these people from subjects of a monarchy into intelligent sovereigns, to guide them in the paths of citizenship and to instill a true Americanism. It also rests on sentiment,—the sentiment of loyalty, that inculcates the edict to "honor thy father and thy mother." We love the language in which our lullabys were sung; in which we listened to the fairy tales as we stood at our mother's knees; in which were given the parting blessings of a father. Such newspapers should therefore not be looked upon as the mouth-pieces of a so-called "foreign element;" but rather should they be gratefully recognized as the representatives of a large and constituent part and parcel of our population, as important, absolutely essential factors in the amalgamation of the races and peoples on our soil, peoples who will leave the impress of their best traits and characteristics upon the now developing American national type.

Historically speaking, the fraternity of the German-American press has been most helpful in the upbuilding of our country,

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

ever since and even prior to the formation of our government. It followed close upon the heels of the English-American press. Although *Public Occurrences*, the first-born of American journalism, appeared in 1690, yet it was soon hushed by the intolerant spirit of that age, and experienced but one issue. It was not until 1704 that the *Boston News Letter* was published, and marked the beginning.

Thirty-five years later, on August 20, 1739, the first German-American newspaper entered the arena. It was called the *Pennsylvania Historian*, contained four pages, and was thirteen inches long and nine wide. It was published at Philadelphia by one Christoff Sauer. This pioneer printer was a unique character, and it is doubtful whether his like will ever again be seen among the craftsmen. He was a mechanical genius, and is said to have been an adept at thirty different trades, making his own tools, machines, and the usual printing outfit. The paper was intended to be issued quarterly, but being received with immediate favor was soon made a monthly. In 1741 it was enlarged, and in 1749 it was issued bi-weekly. Despite the increase in reading matter and frequency of issue, the price of subscription was never raised, remaining at three shillings, or about forty cents, per year.

This liberality also extended to the advertising department. At first, advertisements were inserted gratis. Later, Sauer charged five shilling for a private notice of "Lost or Found," but even then allowed a discount, stating: "If the notice be answered after the first insertion, two shillings will be refunded; if after the second, then one shilling."

Loyal to professional ethics, he was a truly truthful man. When canards had found their way into the columns, he changed the name of the paper to *Reporter*, warning his readers that its columns did not necessarily contain facts, but what were *reported* to be facts. Some captious critics will claim to be unable to find such frankness in modern-day journalism, and then grow enthusiastic about the "good old times."

But the publishers had troubles in those good old times, similar to those of our own day. Thus Sauer feels moved to enter this complaint: "Those who owe for three years and longer, and

who otherwise have no reputation, must not be offended at receiving a gentle notice." As early as 1751; his subscription list contained over 4,000 names, and later it increased to such an extent that he found great difficulty in printing with sufficient rapidity for prompt distribution. The circulation was not confined to Pennsylvania, but extended into Virginia, Georgia, and the two Carolinas. Hence, with all his gentleness and liberality, he was thrifty, and accumulated a large fortune.

He was a man of great piety, tinged with non-resistant Quakerism. While he abhorred the tyranny of Britain, he preferred humble submission on the part of the colonies to an independence achieved by force. Thus placed between two fires, his fortune and influence dwindled, and in 1778, after an existence of nearly forty years, the pioneer German-American journal ceased to be issued.

A different man was Henry Mueller, who published the Philadelphia *State Courier*, issued twice a week. He had founded the paper in 1762, it being then the sixth German journal in the colonies. He was a man of education, with some literary training, and wielded a most forceful pen. He espoused the cause of the colonists with enthusiasm and fearlessness. He was one of the men who brought out Thomas Paine's *Crisis*, which so stirred the spirit of independence. To his influence, in a large degree, may be ascribed the fact, as stated by George Bancroft, that, while the Germans in the colonies constituted but one-twelfth of the population, yet they formed one-eighth of the continental army.

During the agitation preceding the Revolution, there was naturally an increase of newspapers, but many of them discontinued when the struggle began. After the war and during the early part of the present century, the increase in numbers, influence and ability was very slight. This shows the German-American press to be a barometer of the emigration to this country; when the tide is high, the press prospers and grows; when it recedes, the press languishes.

The earliest German emigration was forced hither by religious persecution; that of a later period by poverty. Neither came in numbers too large to be assimilated. It scattered over the

country, except as to Pennsylvania, where it grouped, and where there grew up a distinct type, developing the so-called "Pennsylvania-Dutch" dialect. There was but little demand or custom for reading, beyond the Bible and the prayer book. However, there are still published some journals originating in that period—several that within a decade or two will have reached the century mark. One has already reached it. The *Reading Eagle*, at first published in the Pennsylvania dialect, has appeared regularly every week since 1796, being the sixteenth oldest newspaper in America. It attained such a large circulation and powerful influence that it won the compliment of "the Bible of Berks county."

But the general character of the German-American press, prior to 1840, was not of high grade—according to Kapp, who made a thorough study of the history of Germans in America. Loeher, another historian, calls the journals of that period "little, harmless birds as compared with the hawks and eagles of the English press." Fuerstenwaerther, who journeyed through the States in 1818, found only twenty-one German-American newspapers—nineteen of that number in Pennsylvania, one in Maryland, and one in Ohio. The last mentioned, the *Ohio Eagle*, founded at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1807, was the pioneer of German journalism in the West. It too, was originally published in the Pennsylvania dialect. Oddly enough, its first publisher was so far Americanized that he had even Anglicised his family name of Zimmermann into Carpenter. The paper was later removed to Columbus, where, I believe, it is still being published as the *Westbote*.

But the latter half of this century, which has chronicled the most wonderful progress in all matters, contains also the most prosperous chapters in the history of the German-American press. Political agitation in Germany during the third decade, and even more aggressive action during the forties, failing of hoped-for results, brought to us an emigration in masses. These emigrants were Americans in spirit before they ever set foot upon our soil. Then, too, they came at a most opportune time—for, instinct as they were with republican tendencies,

they gave a mighty, overwhelming impulse to the anti-slavery feeling and the Union sentiment.

With them came men highly educated and thoroughly trained — leaders of thought, and masters of a pure and vigorous style. To mention names, with justice to all, would extend these remarks beyond their prescribed limits. Suffice it to say that these men, entering journalism, raised the standard of American editorials, irrespective of language. Some were radical and idealistic, it is true, but all were imbued with high ideals, and left their impress on American thought and tendency. Others even attained high rank in the English-American press.

To German-American journalism they gave an impetus, the influence of which is noticeable at this day. Wherever Germans grouped, there appeared the German newspaper as a beneficial adjunct of the settlement. In every metropolis of our land, the German daily vied with its English contemporary in power and influence. Thus it grew and extended with the growth and extent of emigration, until at this time there are but five States within whose borders a German newspaper is not published — Wisconsin alone containing nearly a hundred.

There was one other person who deserves mention in this connection — John Peter Zenger, who, though the editor of an English-American paper, was yet a German printer. In 1735, when the people of New York colony were chafing under the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of Governor Crosby, Zenger established the *Weekly Journal* in opposition to the *Gazette*, the government organ — from which it appears that "organs" are not of latter-day growth. He fearlessly scored and criticised the governor. The copies of the *Journal* were ordered burned by the common hangman, in the public square. Undisturbed thereby, Zenger kept up his lively censure. The judges were ordered to punish him, but refusing, they were promptly removed from office. More obedient officers were found, and Zenger was arrested and languished in prison for eight months, awaiting trial. The leading lawyer of the colony was retained to defend him, and when he attempted to do so he was summarily disbarred. Finally, Andrew Hamilton, the foremost lawyer of Philadelphia, agreed

to take charge of the defense. His management of the case in court was masterful and brilliant. He appealed to the jury to be judges both of the facts and the law, and to take into consideration the truth of the alleged libel. After a trial replete with exciting and sensational episodes, Zenger was acquitted. This first libel case in America had been fruitful of far-reaching and important results. It established the principle that in libel, the truth of the statements made may be shown. Thus, Zenger's case, which Livingston termed the "morning star of the Revolution," became the beacon light of the liberty of the press, without which liberty popular government would be a failure, if not an impossibility.

THE FIRST NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA, WITHIN THE PRESENT CENTURY.¹

BY RASMUS B. ANDERSON.

How many Norwegians landed in America between the years 1492 and 1821, it is impossible to determine. We have no statistics to guide us, and we know there was, during that long period, no regular and systematic immigration from Norway. They did not come in collective bodies and form settlements; we are able to trace them only either through their descendants who have kept family records, or in public documents or published works where they happen to be mentioned. In this way Hans Hansen Bergen, Claes Cartensen, Thomas Johnson, and the others mentioned in my *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*² have been found. But it is fair to presume that a considerable number of enterprising Norwegians found their way to their old Vinland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

From 1820, the United States government supplies us with immigration statistics; but down to 1868 Sweden and Norway are grouped together, so that it is impossible to determine how many came from each country. From 1836, we are helped out by Norway, where the government in that year began to collect and preserve statistics of emigration. These early tables are, of course, more or less imperfect, and we are justified in assuming that the actual number of emigrants was larger than the one given. In the American statistics, the number of passengers and immigrants from Sweden and Norway from 1820 to 1835 in-

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

² *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840); its Causes and Results* (Madison, 1895).

clusive, is given as follows: 1820, 3; 1821, 12; 1822, 10; 1823, 1; 1824, 9; 1825, 4; 1826, 16; 1827, 13; 1828, 10; 1829, 13; 1830, 3; 1831, 13; 1832, 313; 1833, 16; 1834, 42; 1835, 31. From 1836, Norway furnishes statistics of Norwegians exclusively, as follows: 1836, 200; 1837, 200; 1838, 100; 1839, 400; 1840, 300; 1841, 400; 1842, 700; 1843, 1,600. From this time on, the Norwegians came to America by the thousands every year, and the means and conveniences for emigration in Norwegian vessels became thoroughly organized and systematized. The immigration from Norway culminated in 1882, in which year 29,101 Norwegians landed in the United States.

The total number of immigrants from Norway from 1820 to the present time is, in round numbers, about 500,000. The immigration from Sweden during the same period amounts to fully 600,000, and that from Denmark is about 150,000 — making an aggregate of 1,250,000 Scandinavian immigrants. Subtracting those who have died, or who may have returned to Europe, and adding the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the immigrants, the Scandinavian group — largely domiciled in the great Northwest, but having representatives in every state and territory in the Union — will be found to constitute no small part of our present population. I think we can safely estimate this grand total at 2,500,000, or double the number of actual immigrants.

It is a fact well worth noting here, that a larger percentage of the Scandinavians engage in agriculture than of any other group of our population. One out of four of the Scandinavians engages in farming; while only one out of six of the native Americans, one out of seven of the Germans, and one out of twelve of the Irish, chooses agriculture as his profession.

As will partly be seen from the statistics which I have quoted, Norwegian immigration did not amount to much before the year 1836. In that year, two ships brought immigrants from Stavanger to New York. These were the so-called Köhler brigs — the one named "Norden" (The North), and the other "Den norske Klippe" (the Norwegian Rock). The "Norden" left Stavanger the first Wednesday after Pentacost, in 1836, Capt. Williamson commanding, and arrived in New York, July 12. My father

and mother, and my two oldest brothers, were passengers in this ship. The other brig, "Den norske Klippe," sailed a few days later from Stavanger, and arrived in New York about three weeks later. Each of the ships had nearly a hundred passengers. The following year a ship called "Enigheden" (the Unity), from Egersund, a small seaport south of Stavanger, brought ninety-three immigrants. From that time on, the stream of Norwegian immigration gradually broadens, and a discussion of it does not come within the scope of this paper. My investigations, so far as the actual immigration is concerned, ends with the year 1837; but so far as their destinies in the New World are affected, I propose to watch their progress down to the year 1840, when we shall find them located in half a dozen Norwegian settlements destined to become more or less prosperous.

The two Köhler brigs came from Stavanger in 1836; but, just as the Puritans had their Mayflower in 1620, and the Swedes their Kalmar Nyckel in 1638, so the Norwegians had their little sloop called "Restaurationen" (the Restoration) in 1825, and it was loaded with no less precious human freight.

I am now prepared to go back to the year 1821, where we find the beginning and the causes of modern Norwegian immigration to the United States. Lars Larson (in Norwegian, Lars Larson i Jeilane) was born in Stavanger, September 24, 1787. He became a ship carpenter, and in 1807, during the Napoleonic wars, the Norwegian ship on which he was employed was captured by the English, he and the rest of the crew remaining for seven years prisoners of war. In 1814, he, with other prisoners, was released, and he spent a year in London, stopping with a prominent Quaker lady, the widow Margaret Allen, mother of Joseph and William Allen, who held high positions at the English court. During his sojourn in England, Lars Larson had acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the English language, and become a Quaker. Some of his Norwegian companions in captivity had also accepted the Quaker faith. In 1816, they all returned to Norway, and at once proceeded to make propaganda for Quakerism, and to organize a Society of Friends. Two of them, Halvor Halvorson and Enoch Jacobson,

went to Christiania, the Norwegian capital, and made an unsuccessful attempt at starting a Quaker society there. Lars Larson returned to his native city (Stavanger), and there he, with Elias Tastad and Thomas and Metta Hille, became the founders of the Society of Friends in Norway. This society still flourishes, and today numbers about 200 adult members. The first Quaker meeting in Norway was held in Lars Larson's house in 1816. He was not a married man at the time, but his deaf and dumb sister Sara kept house for him. At Christmas, in 1824, he married Martha Georgiana Peerson, who was born October 19, 1803, on Fogn, a small island near Stavanger.

Many of the Norwegian officials of that time were inclined to be arbitrary and overbearing; all dissenters from the Lutheran church, which was the state religion, were more or less persecuted by those in authority. The persecution of the Quakers, in particular, is a dark chapter in the modern church history of Norway. On a complaint of the state minister, the sheriff would come and take the children by force from Quaker families, and bring them to the minister to be baptized. Parents were compelled to have their children confirmed, and even the dead were exhumed from their graves, in order that they might be buried according to the Lutheran ritual. These cruel facts are perfectly authenticated, and there is not a shadow of doubt that this disgraceful intolerance on the part of the laws of Norway, as in the case of the Puritans in England, was the cause of the first exodus to America. The very fact that Norwegian immigration began in Stavanger county, is evidence of the correctness of this view. Here it was that Larson, Tastad, and Hille had founded a Quaker society. In Stavanger and the surrounding country many had been converted to the Quaker doctrine, and there were no Quakers in Norway outside of Stavanger county.

As in all lands and times, emigration can often be traced to religious persecution. History repeats itself in Norway, and the sloop "Restaurationen" left Norway in 1825 because Quakers were not permitted, unmolested, to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Of course there were economic reasons also; the emigrants hoped to better their ma-

terial as well as their religious conditions. It should also be remembered that the common folk in Norway were displeased with and suspicious of the office-holding class. There were many unprincipled officials, who exacted exorbitant and unlawful fees for their services. With such officials, ordinary politeness to the common man was out of the question. Thus poverty, oppression on the part of the officials, and religious persecution, coöperated in turning the minds of the people in Stavanger county toward the land of freedom, equality, and abundance in the Far West.

All reports agree that Cleng Peerson, from Tysver parish, Skjold district, Stavanger ccunty, was the man who gave the first impetus to the emigration of Norwegians to America. In the year 1821 he, with a comrade named Knud Olson Eide, from a neighboring parish, left Norway and went by the way of Gothenborg, Sweden, to New York, to make an investigation of conditions and opportunities in America. There is no doubt that they were practically sent on this mission by the Quakers. It is nowhere stated, so far as I know, that Peerson and Eide were themselves Quakers; but I have complete evidence to the effect that they were dissenters from the established church. After a sojourn of three years in America, all of that time presumably spent in and around New York City, they returned to Norway in 1824.

Peerson's reports awakened the greatest interest, and culminated in a resolution to emigrate. Lars Larson (i Jeilane), the same man in whose house the first Quaker meeting had been held in 1816, at once undertook to organize a party of emigrants. Being successful in finding a number of people who were ready and willing to join him, six heads of families converted their scanty worldly possessions into money, and purchased a sloop built in Hardanger, which they loaded with a cargo of iron. For this sloop they paid eighteen hundred dollars. While six of the passengers owned some stock in this vessel, the largest share was held by Lars Larson, who was in all respects the leader in the enterprise. He had acquired a good knowledge of the English language during his eight years' sojourn in Eng-

land, and the general supervision of the preparation and voyage naturally fell into his intelligent hands. The captain, Lars Olson, and mate, Erikson, were engaged by him.

This little Norwegian "Mayflower" of the nineteenth century was named "Restaurationen" (the Restoration), and on the American day of Independence (July 4), 1825, this brave little company of emigrants sailed out of the harbor of the ancient city of Stavanger. The company consisted of fifty-two persons, chiefly from Stavanger and from Tysver parish, mentioned above. When they landed in New York, at 10 o'clock on the forenoon of the second Sunday in October, they numbered fifty-three, Mrs. Lars Larson having, on the second day of September, given birth to a beautiful girl baby.

Their fourteen weeks' journey across the ocean was a romantic and perilous one. They passed through the British Channel, and after a few days anchored in a small harbor near the Lizard, on the coast of England, where they remained until the following day. Here they began to sell liquor to the inhabitants, which was against the law; and when they perceived the danger into which they had thus plunged themselves, they made haste to steer the little craft out upon the boundless ocean. They must have lost their reckoning or been looking for the trade winds, or the captain was ignorant of the art of navigation, or the wind may have been unfavorable, for when we next hear of them they had drifted far south, to the island of Madeira. Near Madeira, they found a pipe of wine floating in the sea. It must have been very old wine, for the cask in which it was contained was entirely covered with barnacles. Lars Larson got out in the yawl boat to fish it up; but while he was putting a rope around the pipe, a shark came near biting his hand off. To celebrate their good fortune, both the officers and passengers had to taste of the delicious contents of the pipe of wine, the result being that the most of them got more or less intoxicated.

They came drifting into the harbor of Madeira without colors and without command. Here it was feared that they had some kind of contagious disease on board, and a German on the wharf cried out to them that, if they did not wish to be greeted by

the cannon already being aimed at them from the fortress, they had better hoist their colors at once. Thorstein Olson Bjodland, one of the party, who was for many years my neighbor in Wisconsin, frequently told me this story. He always claimed that it was he who hunted up the Norwegian flag, and with the assistance of others ran it up to the mast-top, thus averting the danger. A couple of custom-house officials then came on board the sloop, and made an investigation, finding everything in good order. Much attention was shown them in Madeira. The American consul increased their store of provisions, giving them also an abundance of grapes, and before their departure he invited the whole company to a magnificent dinner. They arrived in Madeira on a Thursday, and left the following Sunday. As they sailed out of the harbor, the fortress fired a salute in their honor. Four weeks had passed since they left Stavanger, and for ten long weeks more the little sloop had to contend with the storms and waves of the rough Atlantic.

In New York, quite a sensation was awakened by the fact that these Norwegians had ventured across the ocean in so small a craft. Such a thing had not before been heard of. Here they also got into trouble with the authorities, on account of having a larger cargo and a larger number of passengers than the American laws permitted a ship of this size to carry. In consequence of this violation of Uncle Sam's laws, Captain Lars Olson was arrested, and the ship with its cargo was seized by the custom-house authorities.

The above named Knud Olson Eide remained in Norway until 1836, when he sailed to America in the same ship with my father (Bjorn Anderson) from Kvelve, in Vigedal, Stavanger county. But Kleng Peerson, instead of coming in the sloop, had again gone by the way of Gothenborg, and was already in New York, ready to receive his friends. He had doubtless found Quakers in the American metropolis who were prepared to give our Norwegian pilgrims a welcome, and such assistance as they most needed. I suppose the authorities in New York, partly in consideration of the ignorance and childish conduct of the sloop party, and partly persuaded by the intercession of Quaker

friends, decided to be merciful. The fact is, the captain was released, and the sloop and its cargo were restored to their owners.

The New York Quakers took a deep interest in these new comers, who were destitute of food and money. The Friends gave many of them shelter under their own roofs, and supplied them with money to relieve their more pressing needs. The Quakers showed themselves in this case, as everywhere in history, to be friends indeed. Enough money was raised to pay their expenses — six dollars each — to the town of Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y., where farms could be secured. In 1811, one Joseph Fellows had been appointed agent to sell a tract of land in Kendall. It seems that Fellows suggested the idea of locating these Norwegian immigrants on this land, and thus was the first Norwegian settlement in America founded. Captain Lars Olson remained in New York, while the mate, Erikson, returned to Norway.

The leader of the party, Lars Larson, also remained a few weeks in New York to dispose of the sloop, which he eventually sold, with its cargo, for four hundred dollars. Having been a ship carpenter in Norway, he removed with his wife and daughter to Rochester, N. Y., where he settled as a builder of canal boats. He prospered, and when he died in 1845 he left a handsome fortune. In the years from 1836 to 1845, thousands of Norwegians on their way to Illinois and Wisconsin called at his hospitable house, bringing him news from Norway and getting valuable advice in return. Larson went into business for himself, and in 1827 he was able to build himself a home in Rochester — a house which still stands on the original site, and which no doubt is the oldest house now in existence in America, built by a Norwegian argonaut of the nineteenth century. His widow, Martha Georgiana, died October 17, 1887, then more than eighty years of age.

He left eight children, all of whom are living, and all are married but one. His oldest child was born on the sloop, a little girl named Margaret Allen. She married John Atwater, of Rochester, who afterwards became a prominent publisher in Chicago. Mr. Atwater is dead, but the famous sloop girl is

still alive and well. She resides at Western Springs, in Cook county, Ill., where she has a comfortable home and is surrounded by a family of bright and happy children. Another daughter is the widow Martha Jane, who, born in Rochester sixty-seven years ago, was married in 1860 to the inventor Elias C. Patterson. Martha Jane has the great honor of being one of the first persons of Norwegian descent to teach a public school in America. She taught in New York state from 1849 to 1854; and in 1857 she entered the public schools of Chicago as a teacher. One of the sloop party, by name Ole Johnson, went back to Norway in 1827, and returned in 1829 with a wife.

In the town of Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y., on the shores of Lake Ontario, land was sold to the Norwegians by Joseph Fellows at five dollars per acre; but as they had no money to pay for it, they agreed to redeem it in ten annual installments. This land was heavily wooded, and each head of a family and adult person purchased forty acres. During the first years they suffered great privations. The clearing of the forests required hard work. They longed to get back to old Norway; but they had burnt the bridges behind them, and a return would be not only humiliating, but even impossible. Benevolent neighbors helped them, and in the course of time their industry brought them its reward. As they did not reach New York until about the middle of October, 1825, it was November before they got settled in Kendall, and the cold winter soon set in. The country thereabouts was but sparsely settled at that time, and there was not much opportunity for getting employment or shelter. Twenty-five of them combined and put up a log house, 12x12 feet. Crowded together in this little hut, their patience must have been taxed to the utmost, and only the hope of a brighter future could sustain them under such circumstances. In those days, threshing machines were not known, and these Norwegian settlers made their first little earnings by threshing out grain for the older American settlers with the flail. For this kind of work they received every eleventh bushel. The next year (1826), they cleared on the average two acres on each of their farms. On these they raised wheat, which gave them bread for the next winter's support.

We get a glimpse of this first Norwegian settlement in America from a letter written in 1871 by H. Hervig, who came in the sloop. He says: "After a long voyage we finally arrived safe in New York and went thence to this place in the forest. We were all poor and none of us could speak English. When we arrived in Kendall the most of us became sick and discouraged. The timber was heavy and it took a long time before we could raise enough to support us. I must confess that when we first arrived here, we thought everything was wrong when it was not like what there was in Norway. But we soon found that there were good things even among people who worshiped God in another manner than we did, and we found that the difference was not so great after all."

We get a more encouraging view from a letter written to Norway by Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland, in 1835, after he had lived in Kendall four years. Hovland left Norway June 24, 1831, and went by way of Gothenborg to New York, where he arrived September 18, having been retained in Gothenborg for several weeks. He bought fifty acres of land in the Kendall settlement, and improved it for four years, when he sold it at a profit of \$500. He is loud in his praises of American laws, equality, and liberty as compared with the extortions of the official aristocracy in Norway. He advises all who are able to immigrate to America, arguing that the Creator had not prohibited man from locating where he pleased. Gjert Hovland's letters to Norway were transcribed in hundreds of copies, and passed from house to house and from parish to parish, and many were in this way induced to emigrate. Hovland removed the same year (1835) to Illinois, where he died at a very advanced age. In the *Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York*, by Arad Thomas, published in 1871, I find the following interesting notice of this first Norwegian settlement in America:

About the year 1825 a company of Norwegians about fifty-two in number settled upon the lake shore in the northeast part of the town (Kendall). They came from Norway together and took up land in a body. They were an industrious, prudent and worthy people held in good repute by people in that vicinity. After a few years they began to move away to join their countrymen who had settled in Illinois, and but a few of that colony are still in Kendall.

They thought it very important that every family should have land and a house of their own. A neighbor once asked a little Norwegian boy whose father happened to be too poor to own land where his father lived and was answered "Oh, we don't live nowhere, we hain't got no land."

I have made considerable investigation in regard to this first Norwegian settlement in America, and find that a number of the descendants of the original settlers are still living there. They are thoroughly Americanized; but among them are later comers from Norway, who are able to speak the Norwegian tongue. Many of them are relatives of Lars Larson, the leader of the sloop party. Any one visiting Kendall now will find Mr. Harvig, Knut Orsland, Rasmus Davidson, John Johnson, Henry Orsland, and Mr. Shulstad, with their families, besides several others.

In this manner began the great Scandinavian exodus of the nineteenth century, which has brought to our shores one and a quarter million immigrants; and thus was founded the first settlement which has been followed by so many large and thrifty ones throughout the Northwest. As the sloop party will always be of the greatest interest to all Scandinavians and their descendants in this country, I have taken pains to ascertain who they were. By the aid of some of the survivors, and various others who knew them, I believe I am able to present an almost perfect list. I hold the list subject to future revision and correction, but I do not think it will be found to contain many errors. Here it is:

- 1- 3. Lars Larson, i Jeilane, wife and daughter, now Mrs. Atwater.
- 4- 9. Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, wife and four children.
- 10-13. Johannes Stene, wife and two children.
- 14-18. Oyen Thompson (Thorson), wife and three children.
- 19-25. Daniel Stenson Rossadal, wife and five children.
- 26-30. Thomas Madland, wife and three children. The above named six families were the owners of the sloop, of which Lars Larson owned the largest share.
- 31-35. Simon Lima, wife and three children.
- 36-37. Nels Nelson Hersdal and wife Bertha.
38. Jacob Anderson (Slogvig).
39. Knud Anderson (Slogvig).
40. Sara Larson, deaf and dumb sister of Lars Larson.
- 41-42. Henrik Christopherson Hervig and wife.

43. Ole Johnson.
44. Gudmund Haugaas.
45. Thorstein Olson Bjodland.
46. George Johnson.
47. Andrew (Endre) Dahl, the cook.
48. Halvor Iverson.
49. Nels Thompson, a brother of Oyen Thompson.
50. Ole Olson Hetletvedt.
51. Andrew Stangeland.
52. Lars Olson, the captain.
53. Mr. Erikson.

I have myself talked with eight of the sloop passengers, viz.: Thorstein Olson Bjodland, Mrs. Lars Larson and her daughter Mrs. Atwater, Nels Nelson and his wife, Mrs. Hulda Olson, Mrs. Martha Fellows, and Mrs. John Mitchell; and I have corresponded with a ninth and tenth, Mrs. Sara T. Richey and Mrs. Serena Anderson. Gudmund Haugaas was an educated man, and acted both as minister and physician for the first Norwegian immigrants, thus being the first Norwegian who practiced medicine and preached the gospel in America, within this century. He died a wealthy man in California.

Five of this memorable "Restaurationen" party are still living, viz.: Mrs. Sara T. Richey, a daughter of Oyen Thompson. She was born March 9, 1818, 14 miles south of Stavanger, Norway, and now resides at Guthrie Center, Iowa. Mrs. Martha Fellows, born in Tysver parish, Norway, September 27, 1823. Mrs. Margaret Allen Atwater, daughter of Lars Larson. She was born on the sloop September 2, 1825, and resides at Western Springs, Cook county, Ill. These three became the wives of Americans, and as a consequence they, with their offspring, now bear English names. The fourth is Mrs. Hulda Olson, who still bears a Norwegian name. She is the daughter of Daniel Rossdal, and was half a year old when she embarked in the sloop. She now resides at Sheridan, La Salle county, Ill. The fifth is Mrs. Serena Anderson, daughter of Thomas Madland, and widow of Jacob Anderson Slogvig. She was born in Stavanger, Norway, January 1, 1814, and now resides in Fruito, California. It will be seen that all the five survivors are women. The last survivor of the men was Nels Nelson, who

was born July 4, 1800, and died in La Salle county, Ill., September 21, 1886.

From 1825 to 1836, there was but little immigration from Norway. There were as yet no regular vessels for this purpose. Those who did emigrate came by the way of Gothenborg, or Hamburg or Havre, and the most of them joined the colony in Kendall, N. Y. I have been able to trace a considerable number of these, and will give two examples. Gudmund Sandsberg, an educated Norwegian, came to New York in 1829. His daughter married a Mr. Mitchell, brother-in-law of Mrs. Inger Mitchell, and her son now owns a cigar factory in Ottawa, Ill. Ole Olson also came from Norway in 1825. He went to Kendall and thence to Niagara Falls, where he married a Miss Chamberlain and worked in a paper mill. Mrs. Inger Mitchell informed me that she lived with his family in Niagara Falls for one year. Ole Olson finally came west and settled in La Salle county, and his son, Porter C. Olson, became captain (afterwards colonel) of Co. F, of the 36th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, in the War of Secession. He was struck by a musket ball, which entered his breast and passed through his body in the region of the heart, in the bloody battle of Franklin, Tenn., November 30, 1864, dying almost instantly, his last words being, "Oh, help me, Lord."

Of course a lot of letters were written to relatives and friends in Norway, and these were read by hundreds who were anxious to better their fortunes. Finally Knud Slogvig, one of the sloop passengers, returned to Norway in 1835, and the news that he had arrived at his old home in the Skjold district created the greatest excitement. People traveled hundreds of miles to see and talk with him. This led to the great exodus of 1836, when the two Köhler brigs were fitted out in Stavanger and departed that summer loaded with 150 to 200 passengers for New York. The American fever continued, calling for one ship in 1837, and several in 1838; and the fever has continued to rage ever since, culminating, as heretofore stated, in 1882.

But only a small number of the immigrants of 1836 went to Kendall. They continued their journey to Chicago, and thence to La Salle county, where the second Norwegian settlement had

already been founded. It appears that this location had been selected by the restless Kleng Peerson. Kleng was doubtless the first Norwegian who ever came west of the lakes. He certainly visited La Salle county as early as 1834, and possibly earlier. He claims he had a vision. He had been on a pedestrian tour west of Chicago, to the vicinity of Ottawa. Weary and hungry, he lay down on a hill to rest, and saw in his fancy fields of waving grain and large herds of cattle feeding. He interpreted this as a token from Almighty God that his countrymen should come here and settle. He forgot his pain and hunger, thanked God that he had permitted his eyes to behold this beautiful region, and decided to advise his countrymen to come west and settle there. He thought of Moses, who from the mountain had looked into the land of promise. He returned to Kendall, and in the spring of 1835 he, with several others, moved out to Illinois and founded the so-called Fox River settlement, near Ottawa. I have myself examined the public records, and found that the following Norwegians purchased land in the towns of Mission, Miller, and Rutland, La Salle county, in 1835: Kleng Peerson, Carrie Nelson (the mother of Mrs. Mitchell), Gjert G. Hovland, Thorstein Olson Bjodland, Nels Thompson, Jacob Anderson Slogvig and Gudmund Haugaas. It will be noticed that nearly all these are sloop people.

The immigrants of 1838 nearly all went to La Salle county, and the colony became one of the largest and most prosperous Norwegian settlements in the United States. The immigrants of 1837 also intended to go to the Fox River settlement; but when they arrived in Chicago they heard unfavorable reports from there, so they sent three men south into Iroquois county, where it was reported good land was to be had. The three men returned with a most brilliant report; the result being that a large number at once proceeded to Iroquois county, where they founded, in the summer of 1837, the third Norwegian settlement in America,—the so-called Beaver Creek settlement. But it proved to be a failure. The land was low and swampy, and the air filled with malaria. Many of the settlers were taken sick and some died, and in 1839 the settlement was abandoned.

The Beaver Creek settlement is usually regarded as the third Norwegian settlement in America; but Hans Valder, — who was born October 18, 1813, and still lives in Newburgh, Minn., where he located in 1853, having come to America in 1837, — informs me that he went at once to a small Norwegian settlement in Adrian, Mich., where he found Ingbret Ingbretson Narvig and several others who had lived there a whole year. Narvig may safely be regarded as the first Norwegian to settle in Michigan. The Adrian settlement became entirely Americanized, and has been almost forgotten; but if it is to be counted, it bears the date of 1836 and takes rank as the third, making Beaver Creek the fourth.

Kleng Peerson was a restless fellow. The records show that he bought land in La Salle county, but did not settle on it. He did not care to work, but he got his living by visiting among his relatives and friends. He looked upon himself as a pathfinder and father of Norwegian immigration. How good a man he was, I do not know. He left a wife, Catherine, in Norway, but in the Bishop Hill Colony in Henry county, Ill., married a woman in 1847, and left her the next day. At the houses where he visited, he spent his time knitting mittens and socks, and talking about his extensive travels. He finally went to Texas, where he died at a very advanced age in 1868. His countrymen have put a small monument upon his grave.

The first Norwegian settler in Wisconsin was Ole Nattestad, who, in 1838, settled in Rock county, near Beloit. He was soon joined by his brother, Ansten Nattestad, and in the course of time a large and prosperous settlement grew up in Rock county and across the State line in Illinois — the so-called Jefferson Prairie and Rock Prairie settlements.

The second Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin, and the sixth in America, was the so-called Muskego settlement, in Racine county. Thirty to forty people located there in 1839, and in 1840 they were joined by several others. Hans Heg, colonel of the Fifteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteers, War of Secession, was the son of one of those who came to Muskego in 1840. Here appeared the first Norwegian newspaper published

in America. It was called *Nordlyset* (Northern Light), and made its appearance in 1847.

The third settlement in Wisconsin, and the seventh in America, was the now large and prosperous Koshkonong settlement in Dane county. It is still the wealthiest and most widely-known Norwegian settlement in America. It was founded in 1840. The first Norwegian settlers there were:

Omen Anderson made C. E. No. 7332, June 22, 1840, for west half of southeast quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Björn Anderson, June 22, 1840 — my father.

Lars Olson made C. E. 7333, June 22, 1840, for the east half of the southwest quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Foster Olson made C. E. No. 7334, June 22, 1840, for the west half of the northeast quarter of section 2, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Nils Larson made C. E. No. 7035, May 6, 1840, for the northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Magany Buttleson made C. E. No. 7033, May 6, 1840, for the northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Gunnuel Oleson Windeg made C. E. No. 7129, May 22, 1840, for the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 35, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Lars Davidson made C. E. No. 7944, December 8, 1840, for the south half of the southwest quarter of section 28, town 7 north, range 12 east.

Nils Seaverson made C. E. No. 7034, May 6, 1840, for south half of the southwest quarter of section 35, town 7 north, range 12 east.

All of these bought land in Dane county in 1840.

The first Norwegians located in Chicago in 1836. Halstein Torrison and Johan Larsen have the honor of being the first two. Halstein Torrison's house was on Wells street, on the ground now occupied by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad passenger station. He was the first one to get his own home in that city, where the Norwegians and their children now number more than 50,000.

The Norwegian Lutheran church in America was organized in Dane county, in 1844. A lay Dane, C. L. Clausen, had previously been ordained by a German Lutheran minister, and had been preaching in Muskego and elsewhere. In the Fox river settlement in Illinois, a far-famed Norwegian lay preacher, Elling Eielson, had been holding gospel meetings and had built a house, the attic of which was used as his chapel. In 1844, the

Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, a Lutheran minister educated and ordained in Norway, came to America and preached his first sermon in the town of Albion, Dane county, August 30th of the same year; and on October 10, the Norwegians met with Mr. Dietrichson on the same grounds and organized a Lutheran congregation. On October 13, 1844, another congregation was organized by Dietrichson in Pleasant Springs, Dane county. That same autumn, these two congregations began the building of churches. The church in Pleasant Springs was completed first, and dedicated December 19, 1844. The other, located in the town of Christiana, was dedicated January 31, 1845. The lay preacher, Elling Eielson, came to America in 1839, and was ordained by Rev. F. A. Hoffman at Duncan's Grove, near Chicago, October 3, 1843. L. C. Clausen, the Dane, came to America in August, 1843, and located in Muskego settlement in Racine county. He was ordained by the Rev. L. F. E. Krause, October 18, 1843. The erection of a church building was begun in the spring of 1844, and the dedication took place March 13, 1845. Thus it appears that the Muskego church was begun and probably finished first, but the two churches in Dane county were the first to be dedicated. Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson did not come to America before 1844, but he had been educated and ordained in Norway; hence the Norwegians usually date the beginning of the Norwegian Lutheran church with his arrival, although I suppose the Muskego church must have had some sort of organization, inasmuch as it had united in calling Clausen as pastor and had built a church edifice. There is some controversy between Racine and Dane counties on this point, but I think I state the matter accurately by saying that the first church begun and built by the Norwegian immigrants in this country was the Muskego church, but that the two churches in Dane county were the first to be dedicated, and that the Dane county churches were the first to adopt a written constitution and written articles of faith. In this statement I do not take into account the meeting-house built by Elling Eielson in La Salle county, Illinois, in 1842. This was his private property and was never dedicated.

Such was the feeble beginning of the Norwegian immigration.

This is the first chapter of their history in this country. He who continues the story will find a rapidly increasing population, and many new settlements to deal with. The material grows rapidly more abundant and complicated. The Norwegian group of our population is today scattered throughout the United States. There are hundreds of churches and ministers, scores of newspapers, and a large number of colleges and academies. Scandinavian professorships have been established in many of the leading American universities and colleges. The author of this paper had the honor of filling the first chair of this kind.¹ This large body of Norwegians become Americanized fully as rapidly as any other class of immigrants from the European continent. They acquire the English language easily, and make most loyal citizens. They are by nature industrious and thrifty, and pay much attention to the proper education of their children. It is universally admitted that the Norwegians are among the most desirable immigrants to this country from Europe. While the Norwegians have filled a considerable number of political offices, national, state and county, and as a rule with great credit to themselves, they are not an office-seeking class. The Norwegian press is, generally speaking, enlightened, and exceedingly loyal to the highest interest of America and her institutions.

You should not blame the foreigners for clinging to their language and traditions. By so doing they bridge the Atlantic ocean and bring to this country the fruits of all the progress made from year to year in Europe. By clinging to their foreign tongues, the immigrants and their descendants keep in touch with the mother country and contribute an incalculable amount of intellectual wealth to their adopted country. Much of this would be lost if the immigrants cast their foreign garments away immediately upon their landing in America.

¹ In the University of Wisconsin, 1875.

ALLOUEZ, AND HIS RELATIONS TO LA SALLE.¹

BY JOSEPH STEPHEN LA BOULE.

Wisconsin and the whole Northwest owe a debt of gratitude to Father Claude Jean Allouez. Bancroft said of him: "Allouez has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West." J. Gilmary Shea says: "Allouez was not inferior in zeal or ability to any of the great missionaries of his time. * * * As a fearless and devoted missionary, one faithful to his high calling, a man of zeal and worth, he is entitled to every honor."² In a letter dated October 24, 1674, Père Dablon, a prudent and conservative writer, characterizes Allouez in a few simple words, as³ "that saintly and true missionary." Many of Allouez's contemporaries did not hesitate to call him another St. Francis Xavier,⁴ which is, at least, strong evidence of the exalted opinion the Catholic people of New France entertained of the missionary's work and personal worth.

His own accounts of his work are extremely unpretentious; they characterize the missionary as a practical and clear-minded, a scholarly and saintly man; and his stalwart virtue reminds one of the early Christian Apostles. Having chosen as his field of labor the Huron and Ottawa nations in the Lake Superior and Lake Michigan country — in what was then the Far

¹ Address delivered at State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899. Father La Boule is professor of ecclesiastical history at the Salesianum, St. Francis, Wis. He has in preparation *The Life and Memoirs of Père Claude Jean Allouez*.—ED.

² *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (N. Y., 1853), p. 67.

³ *Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle France, 1672-1679* (Paris, 1861), vol. ii, p. 7.

⁴ Rochemonteix, *Jésuites et la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1895-96), tome iii, p. 536.

West — he labored, with very few intermissions of rest, for more than twenty-four years — from 1665 to 1689 — within the limits of present Wisconsin and Illinois. Rightly, then, Allouez may be regarded as the founder of Indian missions among the aborigines of Wisconsin and Illinois.¹ He is held in grateful and sacred memory by unbiased historians, and by all honest men and women, regardless of race or creed. Yet the name and reputation of Allouez have been trifled with, and, it would seem, by some concerted plan.

Between Allouez and La Salle there existed a mutual dislike, which the missionary in a few instances evinced by refusing to meet the latter. Special-stress has been put upon this apparently suspicious conduct, to make him out as a "wily plotter against the interests of La Salle, of New France, and of humanity in general."²

The attack made by innuendo does not touch Allouez alone. The insignificant incidents referred to by Joutel are used as a reflection upon all the Jesuits of New France; and slanders and insinuations against that order have been brought forward in order to magnify La Salle. Strangely enough, our matchless Parkman, an historian of high repute and unusually accurate research, has followed the uncritical G. Gravier,³ and the anti-Jesuitical Pierre Margry, in their undue exaltation of the merits and personal qualities of La Salle. I should not criticise Parkman for having created a hero, were it not done largely at the expense of truth, and of the honor due to Jesuits in general, and to Allouez in particular. Parkman seems to have closed his eyes

¹ He founded missions at Chequamegon Bay, Green Bay (Depere), at or near New London, at or near Berlin, and at or near Marinette, on the Menomonee River. Besides these, he organized the Kaskaskia missions on the Illinois River.

² The principal argument of the writers, who seem to insist that this insinuates intrigue on the part of Allouez against La Salle, is drawn from Joutel's *Journal Historique* (French's trans.), pp. 184, 190. Margry, Parkman, and the writer of "Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, give undue importance to the passages in Joutel.

³ Gravier, *Découvertes et Établissements de Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870).

while "the enemy sowed the cockle" which spoiled his harvest of abundant research, as collected in his *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. In this work I fail to find any decided and cheerful recognition of Allouez's merits, and meet only scant praise of his companions in the early Western missions; and undue importance is given to La Salle's charges against Allouez and the Jesuits.

To understand the meaning and the weight of the accusations made by La Salle's friends against our missionary, it becomes necessary to glance at the early life and leading traits of character of La Salle, and also to consider the conditions prevailing at that time in New France. From the relations of La Salle to the members of the Jesuit order in general, it is not difficult to understand his indirect charges and unfriendly attitude to Allouez in particular.

PART I. — LA SALLE.

La Salle sought and received admission into the ranks of the Jesuit order, in France, on October 5, 1658. The only complaint his superiors made of him is embodied in the words characterizing him as *Homo inquietus*, "a restless, unsettled man."¹ They say of him, uniformly, that he had a gifted mind and great energy, but little judgment and less prudence.² He was too restless to remain longer than a year at any place; always wished to be where he was not, and not to remain where, by the order of his superiors, he actually was. He so importuned his superiors to let him go to Portugal to prepare himself for the foreign missions, that his father general, Oliva, after prudently but kindly refusing the request several times, and finding him ever restless and dissatisfied, allowed him, in the year 1677, to sever his connection with the Jesuit order.³

He who, in the school of probation in France as a Jesuit scho-

¹ Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 44, quotes Père François de la Faluere, rector of the Jesuit college at Tours, wherein La Salle was a teacher.

² Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tome i, p. 455, gives a good description of La Salle's qualities; so does Sulte in his "Comte de Frontenac," p. 196, quoted in Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 50, *note*.

³ See letter of Oliva, in Rochemonteix, tome iii, pp. 47, 48.

lastic, was a *homo inquietus in suo sensu abundans*, remained the same as a layman in the world. At once he looked about for a career that would satisfy his unbridled craving for travel, enterprise, and renown. The Abbé Jean Cavelier, his brother, and, later, his companion on many of his journeys, seems to have attracted him to Canada. At any rate, Robert Cavelier, later De la Salle, was in Canada in the very year when he left the Jesuit order. Those who, from the beginning, thought his judgment unreliable, soon had reason to be confirmed in their estimate of his person and character. Dollier de Casson, who was not a Jesuit, and other companions of La Salle on the Lake Erie exploring tour in 1669, had the same opinion regarding La Salle's dreams of enterprise as had the Jesuits; they deserted him as an unsafe adventurer.

After serving his apprenticeship in woodcraft, and gaining some knowledge of the country, and having returned from the Ohio River, in 1673, as he claimed, or from the "famous voyage to China," as Dollier de Casson called the affair, he was filled with new hopes of finding the Mississippi, and thus passage to Mexico, to De Soto's Eldorado, and thence a highway to China and Japan. The accomplishment of that "robust" dream would make him master over the Mississippi and its tributaries; it would give him the monopoly of trade, establish him as commander of forts and forces, make him the lord of a vast feudal seignory, and earn for him unstinted renown. But how could he achieve this end?

The Jesuits would not approve his plan. Although they put no obstacle in his way, they seemed to regard it as impracticable. At this time they were well established in the missions of the Far West, and they seemed determined to push their work on still farther, south and west. "Shall they reap the fruits of such magnificent opportunities alone? Shall they be permitted to establish a 'New Paraguay' in the west?" Such thoughts haunted the jealous mind of La Salle. He is not in touch with the Jesuits; and he must find an ally more powerful than they. This need was met by the enterprising but unscrupulous, the "ostentatious" and "chivalrous," Louis de Buade, the Count of Frontenac, governor of New France, since the year

1672. La Salle and Frontenac were well matched. The plan concerted between these two men was to "close to the Jesuits the route to Mexico," and dislodge them in the Mississippi Valley; and, directly and indirectly, to destroy their prestige with, and influence upon, the savage, as well as the European, elements in New France.

This was a policy which could only do harm to New France. It was not only wrong, but unwise, to try to displace the Jesuits where they were already established and making fair progress. The missionaries certainly had planned, prepared, and effectively co-operated in the discovery of the Mississippi, with the expectation of being one day employed in the work of evangelizing the tribes that dwelt on its waters. In a memoir of King Louis XIV. to Frontenac, 1673,¹ the new governor is advised to have full regard for the Jesuits. "It is they," said the king, "who have carried the light of the faith into New France, and who, by their virtue and piety, have contributed to the establishment and growth of this colony."² Indeed, the services of the Jesuits to that country were exceedingly great. The Western Algonquins and the Hurons were by them kept faithful to France; the peace with the Iroquois was long sustained only by the efforts of the Jesuits. But for their assistance in pacifying the ever-suspicious Iroquois,³ the southern road to the great lakes would have remained locked against the French traders and adventurers, long before and after Frontenac's expedition in 1673. Sound policy, then, would have dictated their continued employment as forerunners of commerce and colonization. But Frontenac, as well as his new ally, La Salle, needing money, joined in an attack upon the Jesuits.

At that time, it is necessary to know, ecclesiastical and civil parties in New France were unfortunately at variance, chiefly from two causes: (1) The first was the "brandy war," so called, which resulted from the fact that in the year 1661 Bishop Laval, of Quebec, had under severe censures forbidden the sale of

¹ Archives de la Marine, Paris.

² *Relations Inédites*, tome ii, p. 346, quotes the text of this memoir.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347, *et alibi*.

brandy to the savages. The Jesuits sided with the bishop, both because it was their duty to obey their lawful superiors in the matter, and because, in their daily intercourse with the Indians at their missions, they had only too often seen what havoc the nefarious traffic played upon the native tribes. The government, opposing this measure, at the same time granted a license to any one to sell spirituous liquors to the Indians, but, under severe penalties, forbade the latter to become guilty of drunkenness.¹ In years previous to this, however, the governmental and church authorities had fully agreed on the policy approved by the bishop and the Jesuits. (2) The second cause of disunion between the civil and church authorities was this: Frontenac believed that the Indian villages, kept apart from French settlements, would never result in civilizing the natives. He wished at once a complete fusion of the two races, by bringing them into close contact. The Jesuit missionaries insisted that such a plan would result in the corruption and irrecoverable loss of the Indians; the Indians would not become French, but the French would become Indians.² The Jesuit plan was to keep the Indians in separate villages, until, by gradual advancement in the civilized modes of life, they were fitted to enter independently into the race of life.

The principal direct object of Frontenac's ruling seems to have been the granting of new trading licenses to friends of his, at various posts where hitherto the missionaries had dwelt alone in peace with the Indians, such as the Sault Ste. Marie, Michillimackinac, Green Bay, and elsewhere. The plan of Gallicizing the Indians was ostensibly a very patriotic measure; but it was copied from the colonies of the English and Dutch of New England, where, it is a known fact, no half-breed village ever resulted from the promiscuous relation of whites and Indians.

Such was the condition of things in Canada about the time when Allouez was active in the Far West, preaching the gospel to our Winnebagoes, Outagamies, Mascoutens, Miamies, Menomonees, and Illinois. Since 1665 he had labored in our State,

¹ *Relations Inédites*, tome ii, p. 351.

² See Shea's *Mississippi Valley*, p. 80.

establishing in all five missions, until in 1676 he left Wisconsin, to work no less zealously among the Illinois. Allouez was the missionary at the most advanced post in the West. Both Jesuit *esprit de corps* and his own fatherly affection for his neophytes would prevent him from being a loving friend of La Salle. So much for the general reasons of Allouez's probable dislike for his forthcoming rival as an explorer and a reformer of the Western French colonies.

PART II.—ALLOUEZ'S AVERSION TO LA SALLE.

In due course of time, Allouez must have concluded that La Salle, like his patron, suffered from "Jesuit-phobia" — a mental disease not uncommon in those days, when, in France, Jansenism was in the ascendancy; he must also have learned by close observation of events that La Salle, when left to himself, was an incompetent explorer, and a menace to the missions as well as to the interests of Old and New France.

That La Salle hated the Jesuits seems clear from numerous facts. He readily connived at Frontenac's studied and artful efforts to minimize the merits of the Jesuits of New France. The letters of La Salle to Frontenac, as late as 1680, and of Frontenac to influential men in France, go so far as to assert that Joliet was an impostor,¹ and that the Jesuits really had made no discoveries of importance, and no progress in converting the natives. By so doing, they both cleared the way for their own interests at the French court. Again, if the *Mémoire sur M. de La Salle* and the *Historie de La Salle*² were inspired by La Salle,—purporting, as these do, to come from

¹ Memoir addressed by La Salle to Frontenac in November, 1680. Here the writer intimates that Joliet went but little beyond the mouth of the Illinois. Parkman quotes the note, *La Salle*, p. 106. See also, Margry, tome i, p. 337, *note*; and Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 69.

² Quoted and, strange to say, half approved by Parkman in *La Salle*, pp. 95-107; of which he nevertheless says, "it embodies the statements of a man of intense partisan feeling" and "often rests on its own unsupported authority." This document seems to come from the noted Jansenist Arnaud. Cf. Margry, tome i, p. 345; and Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 57, *note*.

information given by himself to his anonymous friend in France — then, indeed, he acted the part of a venomous reviler.

What shall we say of the story recorded in the same memoir of La Salle's anonymous friend, in which we are informed of an attempt made by a Nicholas Perrot to poison La Salle? The name of the alleged culprit seems purposely invented to throw discredit on the famous voyager and faithful friend of the Jesuits. The commander of Fort Frontenac¹ recovered from the hemlock and verdigris administered to him in a salad, and pardoned the would-be assassin, who confessed his crime, saying that the Jesuits had instigated him to the murderous act. "To avoid giving the matter notoriety, and lest he should do the Jesuits the slightest injury"² — La Salle says in a letter to the Prince de Conti (cited in Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 105), that he pardons the said Nicholas Perrot, and retains him in his service indefinitely. If the latter was the famous voyager of that name, — as Parkman, we think incorrectly, assumes, — then how in the name of justice and prudence could Frontenac, later on, give the alleged scoundrel an important trading-license?³ And shall we suppose the Jesuits so idiotic as to make a friend of Perrot in later years — the man who, under the supposition of Parkman, had once made traitors and assassins of them? In the same letter, speaking of the Jesuits as his enemies, "against whom he needed," as he said, "a strong protection," he refers to his enterprise that involved the conquest of the Mississippi Valley from the Jesuits, and the laying open to himself of the riches of Mexico, and then utters words of no uncertain sound: "My enterprise traverses the commercial operations of certain persons [Jesuits] who will find it hard to endure it. * * *

The route which I close against them, gave them facilities for

¹ La Salle built this fort, in 1673, at the site of the present Kingston, on Lake Ontario. See Parkman and Rochemonteix on the subject.

² The inspired memoir gave to the matter a notoriety where it did most harm.

³ There were, beyond all doubt, a number of Perrots in New France, which then was reported as having from 900 to 1,200 inhabitants: and Nicholas was a common baptismal name, and is so yet among the Canadians.

an advantageous correspondence with Mexico." ¹ To my knowledge, no evidence exists to the effect that the Jesuits ever wished to "close against La Salle the route" which by royal commission he was entitled to open, provided he had obtained such rights in a lawful way, and did not interfere with their own equally patented rights as missionaries and explorers. Who, then, is the aggressor? Evidently La Salle. The letter quoted is dated October 31, 1678.

In the year following (1679), he begins to open the route so often referred to; by launching the *Griffin*, the first ship that set sail on our Great Lakes; and sending her to the Jesuit missions at Sault Ste. Marie and Michillimackinac, thence to the entrance of Green Bay, near Washington Island. By the royal grant of 1678, ² La Salle was expressly forbidden to traffic with the Ottawas. Nevertheless, supported as he knew he was by the unscrupulous governor, his patron, he freely traded with them wherever he could, and instead of following his original plan of descending towards Chicago river, at the foot of Lake Michigan, he loaded his ship with peltries and sent it back to Canada. So doing, he could not fail to vex the traders already established at Michillimackinac and other Ottawa posts. Besides, he and some of his companions here acted out Frontenac's liquor-and-colonization policy. The Jesuits, who had accorded him and his party an unfeigned welcome, could not look with complacency upon such nefarious traffic, and public transgression of established law and order. Could Allouez, who surely had heard of La Salle's adventures and chicanery, rejoice at his prospective invasion of the Illinois country?

Misfortunes attend his path; his companions desert him at every opportunity, and the *Griffin* does not return to port — she probably goes down, with all her crew, in some fierce storm. His troubles enhance his morbid suspicions of Jesuit intrigue, and Allouez is doomed to be the special victim. The latter had probably met him in Montreal in 1669, and must at some time have become acquainted with him, his character, and his incipient enterprises. Allouez must also have met him at the great

¹ Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 105.

² This is dated May 12, 1678. See text in Parkman, p. 113.

ceremony of taking possession of the Ottawa country, on June 14, 1671.¹ Through letters from Pere Julien Garnier, of the Seneca mission among the Iroquois, he was, no doubt,—as Shea indicates in a note in his *Mississippi Valley*, p. 69,—informed of La Salle's suspicious character. When, therefore, in 1679 La Salle came to the Illinois mission, where Allouez had worked from 1677, the latter had reason to leave. What Jesuit would have confidence in the habitual reviler of their persons, work, and order? Who that was a loyal Frenchman could sanction the persistent and officially-countenanced violation of royal ordinances? What missionary could be indifferent to the dangers resulting from the indiscriminate sale of spirituous liquors, and in the promiscuous mingling of corrupt Frenchmen and newly-converted Indians?

If at any time Allouez opened his heart to any one regarding the dislike he felt, and even grant that some Indian convert—be he called "Monso" or by any other name; be he Illinois, Miami, or Iroquois,²—had therefore intrigued against La Salle,—which I do not admit until better evidence is adduced for such a supposition than is offered by Margry, Gravier, and Parkman; what does it prove, but that the Indians possibly were themselves aware of wrong-doing in the following of La Salle; or that, suspicious and treacherous as they were, they now practiced on La Salle and his newly-arrived colony what they—both Illinois and Iroquois—had frequently been guilty of in their treatment of the Jesuit missionaries? Allouez himself shortly before, in 1677-78, had suffered such treatment at the hands of the Illinois.³

La Salle's visionary blunders were redeemed only by his success in the exploration of the lower Mississippi in 1682, and

¹ Such, at least, is our inference from remarks found in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens Français*, tome v, pp. 18, 19, quoted in Rochmonteix, tome iii, pp. 58, 59.

² Vague rumors are hinted, such as that Allouez had carefully spread the report that La Salle was the enemy of the Illinois and that the latter was now coming into their country in order to "les donner a manger aux Iroquois," etc. (to give them up to the Iroquois as food to eat).—Quoted in Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 222.

³ Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 534.

possibly by that of the Ohio, in 1670 or later. Soberly considered, this was no gigantic feat after the Jesuits had paved the way; and since Frontenac, jointly with Louis XIV., supported La Salle with men and means. All his other enterprises proved a failure, despite the enormous energy expended in their attempted achievement. The "journey to China" in 1669; the fiasco at Michillimackinac, ten years later (1679); the destruction by the Iroquois of his forts at Crevecoeur and St. Louis (built respectively in 1680 and 1681); his repeated useless crossing and recrossing of the entire territory in search of his men, scattered all over by continued blundering of their captain, were sufficient to awaken distrust in any man regarding the mental soundness of the leader. But the climax came in 1685. Returning from France in that year, accompanied by a little fleet under Captain Beaujeu, La Salle absolutely failed to find, a second time, the mouths of the Mississippi which he had discovered in 1682. The colony which he wished to establish at that place, in order to realize his life's ambition,—the conquest of Mexico,—was utterly ruined on the swampy shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and the infatuated explorer in two full years could not find the Mississippi. Why? Because, in 1682, he had taken the latitude but could not take the longitude of the place where that river emptied into the Gulf.¹ More than that, during two years, from 1685 to 1687, he did not, probably could not, extricate himself from the perplexed position in which a great mistake and his ridiculous pride had placed him. For good reasons, Beaujeu, the captain of the "Joly,"—the principal vessel of the expedition, which brought the colony to the Gulf in 1685,—had left him.

A Jesuit, the venerable Father Allouez, hundreds of miles from the scene of misery and disaster, at the Illinois mission breathes God's free air in peace with his Indians and with Tonty, his friend and master at the fort. The aged and revered missionary must furnish a clew to the latest and "most artful conspiracy" that Jesuits have formed to bring on La Salle's final disaster and his death. It seems to me no exaggeration to say that such is

¹ Refer to Parkman's statement, *La Salle*, p. 351.

the object and import of allusions made incidental to the surprise manifested by Allouez, according to Joutel, when he was told by the survivors of La Salle's party, returning to Fort St. Louis in 1687, that the latter was in good health and coming up to the fort.¹ But "the trouble which the missionary could not conceal" does not prove a conspiracy. If he knew of La Salle's last failure, he had good reason to avoid him who, to his own knowledge, was a blunderer, and an abuser of royal trust. La Salle had, as Parkman seems to credit him, deceived the king as to his designs. He had allured poor soldiers, and men, women and children into a trap. And, worse than all, La Salle had intended to draw 15,000 Illinois braves from Allouez's mission to help him conquer Mexico. Were not such considerations enough to create anxiety and trouble in the heart of the aged missionary?

If Allouez really had connived at conspiracies with the Illinois against La Salle, Tonty, the noble lieutenant of the fort, the real "secular hero of the West," would not have suffered the intriguer, nor would he have remained a warm friend and admirer of Allouez. Moreover, can Joutel be trusted? A man who could deceive a Tonty, and all the unfortunate denizens of that village and military post, and then, cool-headed, carry the lie with him all the way back to France up to October, 1688, can hardly be trusted in print, even though he confess his lie.

One more question remains to be answered: How did the Jesuits know of La Salle's failure?² This is Parkman's apparent last trump in the game he enacts between Allouez and La Salle. No certainty exists that Allouez or any of the Jesuits knew of that failure before the death of La Salle (March 19, 1687), or before the arrival of the survivors of the doomed party at Fort St. Louis, in the summer of 1687. Still, it is probable that they had some information before the dates mentioned.

To prove that they did know of it some time before 1687, it is surmised that Allouez got secret information from France — from Jesuits of course, through Beaujeu, who returned in 1685.

¹ Parkman, *La Salle*, pp. 431-433. Joutel, *Journ. Histor.*, as quoted previously.

² Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 433.

Some time after the return of the latter, a memoir was addressed to M. de Seignelay, minister of the Colonies, affirming that "La Salle had made a blunder, and landed his colony not at the mouth of the Mississippi, but at another place;" and the document further asks permission for the Jesuits to continue the work in which La Salle had failed. The value of the alleged document is not as yet ascertained. But if it is genuine, and was presented before the return to France of Joutel and the brother of La Salle (Père Cavelier), then indeed "Cicero has discovered the Catilines," who have conspired against the noble Norman, the ambitious but honorable and now fallen La Salle! There they stand with blood-stained swords — Beaujeu, his wife, and the Jesuits! — If Beaujeu returned in 1685, and if he knew of La Salle's failure, was he obliged to keep it a secret? Common interests would dictate that he seek relief for the deserted colony. In that case, the Jesuits, who were greatly interested in their missions in the Mississippi Valley, received the news through the natural channel. Thus the memoir referred to was a justifiable — nay, a charitable — step toward a rectification of La Salle's blunders.

But it is by no means certain that Beaujeu knew of La Salle's failure — departing, as he did, from an unknown spot which, after all, might be the mouth of the Mississippi. In that case, through whom may Father Allouez have heard of La Salle's failure on the Gulf of Mexico in the summer of 1687? I maintain with Father Jucker,¹ that Tonty himself was the one who unveiled the mystery. Having heard at Michillimackinac of the return of Beaujeu and his ship to France, and of the abandoned state of the new colony on the shores of the Gulf, he (in February, 1686) set out to find La Salle and his associates at the mouth of the Mississippi.² Reaching the mouth of that river he traveled many leagues east and west, and found no trace of La Salle. This it was that established the fact of the explorer's blunder. In such case, it is beyond question that Tonty's report reached the ears of those in France who were interested in La Salle's enterprise — two years and some

¹ "La Salle and the Jesuits," *Cath. Quart. Rev.*, vol. iii, p. 425.

² Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 428, note.

months before Joutel and Cavelier, in October, 1688, brought the same news to France. In such case, furthermore, is it very strange to hear that Father Allouez "is surprised" at the news which the illfated survivors of La Salle's party brought to Fort St. Louis, where the aged missionary lay sick at the time? He probably knew of La Salle's failure by letters from France, and it is more than likely Tonty had informed him of the same fact long before.

Now all considered,—the circumstance that led to La Salle's enterprises; his early relations to the Jesuits in general, and his alliance with Frontenac and his party; La Salle's character and reverses, his incapacity, and consequent suspicions,—there is more than sufficient reason to explain Allouez's dislike to the man. On the other hand, there is no evidence to substantiate the various artful, vicious hints made at intrigue and conspiracy on the part of Allouez against La Salle. Not any of the charges, if made before a tribunal of unbiased judges, would convict Allouez. He was a man of peace; and, rather than have altercations with La Salle and his "rival missionaries," he acted the part of Abraham with his cousin Lot. (Genesis, xiv, 8, 9.)

CONCLUSION.

I have not attempted to make a hero or saint of the missionary and apostle of our State; what I have endeavored to do, in this paper, is to expose the ignoble aspersions made on the character of that worthy, and in many respects saintly and heroic, man, who manifested the "life that was within him" by an unpretentious, but in every way fruitful, career, of useful sacrifice. The "hero of portentous, colossal proportions," the La Salle of Parkman and Margry, taken out of the mist of pretended, unreal persecution by the Jesuits, and viewed in the sunlight of truth, sinks down to a common-sized statue, with many unseemly blemishes on his shrunken figure. "The idol shows its feet of clay."

It is extremely unfortunate that such deep-going and far-reaching differences ever arose between ruling elements in New France. The main blame falls upon Frontenac and his party,

who duped Louis XIV. and his court into a policy that established an empire in an empire. The jealousies and discords in New France soon invited the interference of England and the Dutch. The result is summed up in a few words of Scripture (Luke, xi, 17): "Every kingdom that is divided against itself shall be destroyed."

SOME DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISTORY OF OUR LEAD REGION.¹

BY JOHN N. DAVIDSON.

Upon the greater part of the area of Wisconsin the glacial epochs made records that are not to be found upon the hills and valleys of our lead region. Let any one go, in the southern portion of our State, from Lake Michigan westward to the Mississippi, he will find, after he has traversed the region tributary to the Rock River, that he has left behind him the land of lakes, of marshes, of cup-like hollows, of rounded hills, and of boulders. He has come into a land where nature, for an untold number of centuries, has been perfecting her system of drainage. The streams flow in valleys deeply cut between bluffs of sharp outline. There are no marshes here, nor lakes; and no boulders bear silent testimony to the former existence and, later, passing away of the icy mechanism that broke them from their native rocks, and gave to each new form and place.

As distinctive almost as its geological aspect is the history, as the term is commonly used, of the Wisconsin lead region. It is not simply that French traders found here material for making bullets, nor that a few Indians, in scratching the surface of the earth for lead ore, did here what none in other parts of what is now Wisconsin had opportunity of doing. The French did not make Wisconsin, the marble figure that our State has put into the national hall of statuary to the contrary notwithstanding — that noble figure, which, wherever it should stand, ought to be called by the honored name of René Menard, even though it must needs suggest the years of his strength rather than those of his enfeebled age. If what the first white

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

men, save the shrewd and independent Radisson and his brother-in-law Groseilliers, wrought for and fought for had come to pass, Wisconsin, or any political entity like it, would not have been. No more — and really no less — than the subjects of the Bourbons, did the Indians found Wisconsin, or begin the distinctive history of its lead region.

Without pride of race or of nationality, but with simple regard for historic verity, we may say that, aside from a few French who came from the southward, those who began the settlement of then unnamed Wisconsin were unmistakably Americans. By this I do not mean to say that they were New Englanders. They would probably have been inclined to resent rather than favor the supposition that any of their ancestors came over in the "Mayflower." Few of them came from the region east of the Hudson; and, for that matter, not many from New York, the State that, more than any other, has furnished models for our political institutions, and from which emigrated so large a proportion of the settlers who made the first homes in our southeastern counties. Most of those who really began the permanent settlement of our lead region, and so of our State, were from Missouri or Kentucky. Next in order, as sources of this immigration, let us rank the States whose southern borders are washed by the Ohio. If we look farther to the east for a parental or, perhaps, yet more remote home, we shall very probably find it somewhere west of the settlements on the Atlantic coast, and between the line that separates Pennsylvania from New York, and north of the southern limits of Virginia. That is another way of saying that for the still more distant ancestral home of many — let me not be misunderstood as daring to say most — of these emigrants, we must look to the north of Ireland, where yet abide those kinsmen of theirs who defeated the plans of a Gladstone and thwarted the wish of a people.

Perhaps in some historian's manuscript there has been written a classification of American States such as I have not yet seen in print. He may have classified them according to what we may call the characteristic manner in which their early settlers came to them. Of some, as of most of the Atlantic states, he would say, "These are States of the ship; for thus came the

men who founded them." Of others, as of Connecticut,—considered apart from the New Haven settlement,—New Hampshire, Vermont, the commonwealth of Kentucky, and the older States of what men once called the West, he may say, "These are States of the wagon; for thus their pioneers traversed the distance between the new home and the old." Another class he will call "The States of the steamboat," and among these he will place Wisconsin. And though, for our purpose, we need not pursue this classification any further, we may add that he would probably speak also of "The States of the railway," and adduce Nebraska and the Dakotas as being, of this class, the most unmistakable examples.

According to this classification, Wisconsin is a State of the steamboat. Our lead region was one of the first portions of the United States to be settled by men who could and did avail themselves of this means of transportation. It is significant that the first steamboat to land (in 1821) at Galena and at Prairie du Chien was called the "Virginia." The name suggests what influences prevailed on the rivers then called Western. About that time,—that is, in the early '20s,—lake steamers were bringing Stockbridges, Brothertowns, and Oneidas to our Green Bay region,—to a country so far off, according to America's then most eminent geographer, Dr. Jedediah Morse, that the white man would never want it; to a country which, it is more than suspected, Calhoun wished to make into an Indian territory of the north. The region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi was good enough for that!

Such a land did those men expect to find, who came thither by way of the river whose tributaries from (the geological) Isle Wisconsin are among the most ancient streams upon the earth; the river that we call the Mississippi, or, if we separate the two words that have become welded together and translate them, the Everywhere, rather than merely the Great River. Its bluffs, and those of its tributaries, were rich in lead ore, and it was for this that these adventurers came. They did not come to get land or to make homes. They were actual or prospective diggers rather than professional miners. Though most of the early settlements became permanent ones,—and thus the men who founded them

builded better than they knew,— we should not forget, as students of our State's history, that the first comers did not intend to stay. It is to places supposed to be of temporary rather than of permanent abode, that men give such names as Hard-scrabble (Hazel Green), Shakerag (Mineral Point), Snake Hollow (Potosi), and Black Leg. A trifle better than these, are the names Beetown, Big Patch, New Diggings, Buncombe, Whig, and Democrat. Smallpox is (or was) on the other side of the Illinois line, and in Jo Daviess county. Here we come upon one of the many evidences of Kentucky influence in the early history of the lead region. For Joseph Hamilton Daviess, a brother-in-law of Chief Justice Marshall, was a Kentucky lawyer and soldier, who was killed at the battle of Tippecanoe while leading a cavalry charge against the Indians. We may leave this part of our subject with the remark that though some of the odd names given to early settlements, like that of Fairplay,— though even that is connected with traditions of a fight,— are not unpleasant, yet if one seek the most disagreeable village names ever used in Wisconsin, he will find them in the lead region.

There was another reason for this want of the feeling of permanence in settlement. At first the land was not for sale, and all that the government would issue to anyone was a mining lease or permit. Even after the country was surveyed, and some of its lands put upon the market, those supposed to be ore-bearing were nominally reserved. Not until August, 1842, was there passed "an act for the relief of certain settlers in Wisconsin"—those who had been refused pre-emption privileges because they had settled on what were regarded as mineral lands. For these, twice the regulation government price was asked; that is to say, they were sold at \$2.50 per acre. To say that those who were compelled to pay this price made complaint that injustice was done them, is not saying that their complaints were just. Yet under this requirement the higher price must often have been paid for poorer land.

The story of the relation of the United States government to the mines and mining population, is much too long to be told here. It presents many points of interest. We have here the

first attempt on the part of the national government to deal with what was supposed to be, and what then actually was, a distinctively mining region. The lead, apart from the land, was to be a source of revenue to the United States treasury. This object was attained, or sought to be attained, by requiring all miners to sell to licensed smelters only, and these were forbidden "to purchase or otherwise acquire" any "ore, ashes or zane" — what zane is I leave for some one to tell who is better informed than I am — "from any other person than an authorized miner or lessee." Never yet in the world's history, probably, was a special revenue secured from one section of the country, and from that section only, without arousing there the feeling that is created by real or supposed injustice. Here, however, there seems to have been comparatively little complaint; perhaps because the revenue-producing regulations were disregarded so soon, so often, and with such immunity from punishment. At first, however, diggers and smelters alike were confronted by the authority of army officers whose commands, it is probable, were generally obeyed as long as the miners were so few in number that an offender could easily be detected. At that time it seems to have been the practically accepted understanding, as well as the legal theory, that, aside from the rights of the Indians, the government held absolute ownership of land and lead. Moreover, according to the treaty of 1816, which was supplementary to that made at St. Louis in 1804 by General Harrison, the government possessed, free from all Indian claims whatsoever, as much land as would equal in area a tract five leagues square. As opposed to the view thus implied, the Winnebagoes may have thought that the land they ceded was not to consist of portions separate from each other; indeed some of the military authorities recognized the fact that there must be limits, even within the lead region, of the rights conferred by this "five league square" cession. Thus it is probable that until after the so-called Winnebago war, possibly until after the making of the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1829, special permission, as well as a lease of the usual kind, would have been — perhaps I should say actually was — required of any one who wished to mine within the limits of what is now Wisconsin.

But before 1829, the mining districts of the white men had such boundaries only as were set by their convenience, or their fears of the Indian scalping-knife.

Apparently, when the United States authorities were willing to grant leases for work within limits now belonging to Wisconsin, the miners did not take the trouble to ask for them. For this neglect, as for previous trespasses on Indian land, it does not appear that any one got into serious trouble. The government had no adequate remedy against those who were engaged merely in mining. There is reason to believe that at least a few of these, when working on land belonging to the Indians, paid them more or less in the way of rental. Whether or not this was collected indirectly, and through the smelters, as was the case with the rental demanded by the government, I cannot say. But when the authorities sought to collect rental from such smelters as were really trespassers on Indian land, reply was made that payment had already been made to the Indians. Whether or not this was true, out of some of the mineral there may have been paid a double tribute. At any rate, some years later, Congress attempted to make amends for a real or supposed injustice; but this was done, during the suspension of the agency, under pressure from certain smelters, and the payment was made to them. This, it is almost certain, was a swindle, for there is little doubt that the smelters had protected their own interests by throwing the tribute, whether single or double, upon the miners.

It is probable that the experience of the government in the management or mismanagement of the lead mines was so unsatisfactory, that neither Congress nor any administration thought it best to adopt like plans in regard to any other mining district. Accordingly, so far as I know, the only attempt on the part of the United States government to increase its revenue directly from mines, — that financial device so often resorted to in past times and by other nations, — was made in the lead region of the upper Mississippi. Here, even from the narrow point of view given by the balance-sheet of the national treasury, the attempt was a failure. The government was wronged even by its own employes, that is, by the civilians; the army

men made a much better record. The land office at Mineral Point seems to have begun operations by an illegal or at least unauthorized sale of mineral lands. Apparently, no pains or penalties, save those of the everlasting justice, followed perjury when committed for the sake of getting government land, provided that the government was the only party injured. Indeed, the time came when the oath that was required of any who wished to pre-empt land was, merely, "that no mineral was being dug on the lands that they desired to enter." So, even a Puritan deacon or a Presbyterian elder could, without any severe strain on his conscience, get possession, at pre-emption prices, of lands that were really ore-bearing. The government, regarded at first as an absolute owner, came practically to be regarded as a trustee. The student of our national history will observe that this change of sentiment occurred during the time of transition from the old-fashioned Republicanism of Monroe and John Quincy Adams to the aggressive type of Democracy that produced and upheld the autocracy of Andrew Jackson. The change that occurred here was an inevitable one, for it was in accord with the training and interest of the great majority of the mining population. Moreover, the authority of the government was exercised more and more feebly, and in time by unworthy men.

The early history of this region pays little attention to the line of $42^{\circ} 30'$ — that is, to the boundary line between Illinois and Wisconsin. The government, whether as owner or trustee, practically regarded the part of the lead region on the east side of the Mississippi as undivided; save that in earlier years it recognized the rights of the Indians to the greater part of it. As did the government, so did commerce. Neither could do otherwise, for, as to industrial and social conditions, the entire region was a unit, having Galena as its emporium. Indeed, for a time, the people of that settlement did not know whether they dwelt in Illinois or in unnamed Wisconsin. When there was no longer any doubt on that point, then the people who lived north of the then undetermined line had the same perplexity. The first election at Platteville was held in the autumn of 1828,

and state officers of Illinois were voted for. The blunder was not repeated. The prevailing sentiment in Galena and the settlements round about seems to have been, that so much of Illinois as lies north of a line drawn from the head of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi ought to belong to the fifth state that, according to the Ordinance of 1787, was to be formed from the original Northwest Territory. The *Miners' Journal*, then the leading paper in the lead region and published, of course, in Galena, expressed the belief in its issue of October 25, 1828, that "the ultimate decision of the United States court will be that the northern boundary of the state of Illinois shall commence at the southernmost end of Lake Michigan." The same issue of the *Journal* published a petition stating that the "division of the miners by an ideal line, separating into different governments individuals intimately connected in similar pursuits, is embarrassing," and, addressing Congress, apparently as if they belonged to the proposed new Territory, the petitioners asked for "even-handed justice" and a restoration of "chartered limits."

Thus, in the lead region at an early day, there was made a real effort to have the southern line of the new Territory so placed as to include all of the mining district east of the Mississippi. But for an act of Congress that they thought unjust the inhabitants of the Illinois part of the lead region would have been citizens of Wisconsin. Moreover, if those who did enjoy this privilege could have had their way, theirs would have been the central portion, eastward and westward, of the proposed new State, which, according to their plan, would have extended to the Missouri. The story of the foolish investments made at Cassville, under the influence of the notion that it might become the capital of the new State, and that of the disappointed hopes of Belmont and Mineral Point, need not be repeated. The miner was no longer supreme. Indeed, in many cases, he had become an agriculturist. He had learned that where the wild grape ripens and blue grass grows, no one need fear to make a farm. The change meant that the lead region had a permanent population. The days of the "sucker," that

is of the digger who — usually from Illinois — came and went with the warm season, were past. In vain did the smelters — who wanted the wood for their furnaces, and in trying to keep it from others were at first favored by the government itself — strive to keep the farmer out of the country. He was there already. To be sure he wore the bed-ticking trousers of the digger, but these could easily be laid aside. And this some men were ready to do, when they learned that the top of the ground yielded surer and, averaging the years together, larger returns than the crevices of the rocks.

But the miner-agriculturist who had learned that Wisconsin is not too far north for the growing of wheat and maize, could not keep this knowledge to himself; and when southeastern Iowa and southeastern Wisconsin were settled, the man of the mines learned that, so far from his being able to unite them into one, he was separate from both, and they from each other; and that, so far as political allotment was concerned, they had him in their power. The day-dream of a state that was to include both banks of the Mississippi, proved to be as unsubstantial as the baseless fabric of a vision.

The years that brought statehood to Wisconsin, brought many changes to her mining population. Part of its trade found other routes. Where once there had been trails leading to the east, roads had been made, and over these passed many loads of lead. Yet the greater part of all that the region sent out and sent for, went and came by way of Galena. It was not in the direction of currents of trade that there was the greatest change. The original body of pioneer Americans became almost lost in the varied throng that came from almost every State in the Union, and from beyond the eastward sea.

Of these, none produced a greater effect upon mining, considered as an occupation, than did the Cornish. As they came to this country they were unlettered, shrewd, industrious, and skillful. They would go to mines that had been abandoned, and would make them pay. Indeed, the Cornish were not much given to what miners call "prospecting," that is, searching for unknown deposits of ore — an enticing employment for some,

and one that often produces upon those who follow it an effect like that of gambling. But when a Cornish miner was once done with a place, it was of little use for any one else to go there. These people brought upon their tongues remnants of the old Keltic speech of Cornwall — expressions that were used sometimes to the amazement and oftener to the amusement of people of other nationalities. Even a Methodist preacher has been known to burst out in uncontrollable laughter, at the droll utterances of a Cornishman in class meeting. The Cornish made a distinct contribution to our ecclesiastical institutions. To be sure nearly all were Methodists; but many of them had a preference for the non-episcopal organization, established by some of Wesley's followers, after the death of that admirable though somewhat autocratic manager, and called Primitive. Outside of the lead region, this body can scarcely be said to have had an existence in Wisconsin.

As the lead region had attracted men to itself and to the occupation of mining, it was natural enough that when its treasures seemed to be failing, and those in a more alluring field were disclosed, men should leave it as they had come to it — in throngs. This occurred on the discovery of gold in California. No part of our State has ever lost so large a proportion of its people, as did the lead region at that time. But the incoming and persistent German made good the loss in population occasioned by the removal of the free-footed miner. This change established more firmly the supremacy of the farming population, and the enclosed field and pasture covered nearly all the land.

Then passed away, in great part, a danger of the darkness and the night — a danger that once was very great. When a prospector had dug a hole, and had either found no lead ore in it, or had taken out all that he found, he often left the place without taking the trouble to fill the hole. The late President Magoon of Iowa college, who in 1847-48 was pastor of the Congregational church in Shullsburg, once wrote me of his crawling along in the darkness to recover some article of his wife's apparel that a gust of wind had whisked away. He

did not dare to walk upright lest he fall into one of the many holes with which the land beside the road was honeycombed.

A young man, who was a stranger to the lead region and its peculiarities, was making a journey, one snowy winter afternoon, with an old-timer who was the fortunate owner of a horse. As long as daylight lasted the old fellow rode and let his companion walk. But when the early darkness fell, he spoke to the younger man somewhat after this fashion: "You must be tired. It's only fair that you should ride now." With sincerity the young man hesitated, even though he was very tired, to accept the generous offer. But kindness is always persuasive and so is weariness. Accordingly the young man mounted and rode, while his considerate acquaintance followed on foot. Thus, with whatever trail there was obliterated by the fallen and still falling snow, and with the mineral holes hidden by drifts and darkness, the young man, in dangerous precedence, though he did not know his danger,—they were in one of the worst parts of the country so far as mineral holes were concerned,—led the way to their destination. There he received information that diminished, to a certain extent, his sense of gratitude.

A boyhood memory of my own is that of hearing my teacher, whose home was in Galena, tell of the death, by plunging head foremost into a mineral hole, of a brother of the young man whose wife she afterward became. The poor boy had seen a bit of ore sticking to the side of the shaft and so near the top that he thought he could secure it without danger. Let us be glad, however, to say and to hear, that very few human beings lost their lives by falling into mineral holes. It is possible, of course, though scarcely probable, that some may thus have perished whose fate was never known. There are stories of marvelous rescue; as of one old man in Dubuque, who was not found until the third day of his fearful imprisonment. Fortunately he was but little injured. Animals often fell into these holes, and were recovered alive oftener than a stranger would suppose possible.

The fate of the unfortunate boy whom I mentioned, suggests the remark that "picking up" mineral at abandoned mines

used to give many children opportunity for securing more or less spending money. Lead was always a "cash article," as my grandfather wrote to a brother in Scotland, in a letter never sent. Gold and silver circulated in the lead region when there was comparatively little in use in other parts of the country. The miners wished no other currency. In this respect, whatever their politics, they were all followers of Senator Benton.

Thus far I have written — so hard it is for us to do otherwise — as if all who came to the lead region came as free people. But Negro slaves, brought by James Johnson from Kentucky, saw the site of Galena and worked the lead mines there before the place bore its present name, or had been shaped even into a village. Southwestern Wisconsin is not the only part of our State to which slaves were brought and, for a time, kept in servitude. There were two cases of the kind at Green Bay; one, if not more, at Fort Winnebago, and as many as seventeen at one time, at Fort Crawford. There, in 1845, a slave woman was whipped to death and her body flung into one of the sloughs of the Mississippi. But, exception being made of the military posts, the lead region is the only part of Wisconsin where Negroes were held for a time in bondage, and whence they were taken again to slave soil. One yet among the living, — the wife of Deacon Thomas Davies, of British Hollow, — heard in the darkness of night the cry of a mother and her sons as they were hurried from Potosi to the Mississippi on their way to the hell of perpetual slavery. What wonder that in her reminiscence of this affair, Mrs. Davies wrote: "That midnight cry is not yet forgotten; it helped make my father, mother, and myself abolitionists. The next morning we heard that poor 'Merica and her children had been taken South." To the honor of Potosi in that early day, it is to be said that two of the children had attended school with the girl who, as a woman, tells this tragedy of their early years. Of the sixty or seventy Negroes who, at one time or another, were held as slaves in Wisconsin, nearly all suffered their unhappy lot in the lead region.

But while we must acknowledge the sad fact that slavery,

though illegal, actually existed here, we have also the pleasanter story of emancipation. Men brought slaves hither for the purpose of setting them free. Moreover, this was but a part of the anti-slavery influence that came to us from the South. For there were sons of the South who abhorred the holding of men as slaves, and who came hither in part because it was a land consecrated to perpetual freedom. Let us close our story with this recognition of their service and their worth.



Fort Atkinson, in 1836.
From sketch carefully based on local traditions.

THE OLD FORT AT FORT ATKINSON.¹

BY D. D. MAYNE.

The history that is being made from day to day does not seem to us of great importance. The greater personal interest we may have in passing events, the less likely are we to make a careful record that may be of value to future historians. An old settler naively remarked, "If I had known sixty years ago that any one would be asking about the old fort, I would have given more attention to it." When history must depend upon fickle memory and careless observation, it behooves us to "prove all things," and hold fast to but little.

Records with reference to the old fort are entirely wanting, and the remembrances of the early settlers are so conflicting as to make the whole account legendary rather than historical. The history of the operations of the army sent against Black Hawk does not aid materially in clearing up the difficulty; on the contrary, it makes "confusion worse confounded." Many of the operations of the army, as described, are manifestly errors, for they do not correspond with the geography of the country; and no two accounts agree. In July, 1832, General Henry Atkinson, with his division of the regular army, together with some independent companies of volunteer from Illinois, came up the east side of Rock River, hoping to overtake Black Hawk and his warriors in the marshes about Lake Koshkonong. He came, however, a few hours too late. Black Hawk had escaped. From Lake Koshkonong the army went to Burnt Village, on Bark River, at the point where Whitewater Creek empties into it, near what is now known as Cold Spring. Here Atkinson was assured by some Winnebagoes that on the other side of the Bark River, Black Hawk was secreted on an island. Crossing to the other side, some of

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

the scouts saw what they supposed to be the trail, and the task of transporting the army across the small stream was begun. On account of the marshiness of the ground, this was a difficult task. In many places they found, after crossing, that what seemed to be solid ground was no more than a vast area of liquid mud, covered with a few inches of sod. Horses would sink in this, and all efforts to extricate them seemed unavailing. The building of a bridge was an impossibility because no foundation could be obtained. At last they made a bridge of marsh grass, which they cut and piled in the river. Reports of all kinds were being circulated as to the presence of Black Hawk, and some Indians were actually seen just across the river.

While floundering about in the morasses of this so-called island, across the Bark River, Capt. Jacob M. Early's independent company of Illinois rangers, in which Abraham Lincoln was a private, becoming discouraged and disgusted with the attempt to find the Indians, left for home—some on furlough, but many without that formality. The muster rolls showed the absentees amounted to nearly one-half. The word "deserted" seldom occurs, however; in lieu thereof, the words "Supposed to be discharged," "Name omitted on muster roll," "Ordered to Dixon," or "Absent without leave," were substituted. In one instance "He says he had to plow" is used.¹

Atkinson, bewildered, but knowing that the Indians must be driven by famine to give battle or to retreat, determined to cut off retreat and provide a place for provisions and for the sick, by building a fort. He dropped down Bark River to the point where the Bark enters the Rock, and there erected the fort called Fort Koshkonong.² Later, the name was changed, in honor of the General, to Fort Atkinson. Operations were probably commenced on the fort July 11, 1832.

The stockade, for such it was, was erected a little east of north of where the residence of E. P. May now stands, about six rods from Rock River, and one hundred rods west of the

¹ Armstrong, *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), p. 443.

² Wakefield, *History of Late Indian War* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 47.

mouth of the Bark.¹ The enclosure included, it is estimated, from one-half to one acre of land. It was built about square, and had two very rude block houses, one on the southeast and the other on the northwest corner.²

The stockade was formed by digging a trench about four feet deep, and placing oak logs on end, so that they would extend above the ground about eight or ten feet. Loop-holes were left between the logs, so that muskets might be used from within in case of an attack. A short distance east of the fort was a large windlass used to draw up cattle for slaughter. General Atkinson had at one time 4,500 regular soldiers encamped in and about the fort.

During the latter part of July, 1832, accurate information was obtained that Maj. Henry Dodge had discovered Black Hawk and his entire army flying towards the Mississippi.³ Atkinson sent 3,000 of his troops to Helena, on the Wisconsin River, to join the pursuing division, under Dodge, while thirty or forty men were left to garrison the fort. The next month, the fort was abandoned, having been used about two months.

Much criticism was passed on Atkinson by the Eastern press, and by some of the old Indian fighters, because of his failure to capture Black Hawk at Lake Koshkonong. Some intimated that he was cowardly, and erected forts and breastworks when there was little necessity. It was evident that Black Hawk was trying to escape from Atkinson, and it was charged that Atkinson was doing all in his power to avoid Black Hawk. However much criticism he deserved for building this fort, and for his failure to capture Black Hawk at this point, he retained the respect and loyalty of the soldiers of the regular army. Wakefield, who was with Atkinson, thus describes⁴ the precautions taken by him just before reaching Lake Koshkonong: "Here Gen. Atkinson had on this night (July 1) breastworks thrown up which was easy done; as we were encamped in thick, heavy timber, this was a precaution which he was always afterwards famous

Mrs. C. A. Southwell, *Fort Atkinson as it Was*.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 313.

³ *Id.*, vi, p. 406.

⁴ Page 47.

for, and which went to show that he set a great deal by the lives of his men and by no means was a mark of cowardice; for generalship comes more in good management than in anything else."

One of the soldiers¹ while stationed here, went to the Bark River to fish. An Indian skulking in the high grass on the other side shot him, the wound proving fatal. He was buried on the top of the hill, about six rods north of where the Lutheran Church now stands. The grave was surrounded with oak logs and covered with pebbles from the river. A stave at the head of the grave bore the name "Peter Dobbs," rudely carved, though with evident pains. This grave was shown to visitors up to 1890, when the hill was removed. Tradition says that one other soldier was shot here, and another died of disease. Both of these were buried east of and near the foot of the hill dedicated to Peter Dobbs.

In the fall of 1836, Dwight Foster and family, accompanied by Aaron Rankin, came to Fort Atkinson and erected a log cabin about fifteen feet square, four rods west of the fort. The fort, at that time, was partially demolished, and after a few years there was little left of the old stockade.

Mr. Foster's house was the first one built in the settlement of Fort Atkinson, and was used as the post office and as an inn for travelers.² A. F. Pratt, with A. Story, made a trip from Milwaukee to the lead mines in February, 1837. In an account, he speaks of the difficulty of the trip after leaving Prairie Village (Waukesha), and then says:

We reached Rock River just as the god of day was sinking in the west, and as good luck would have it we discovered a light a short distance from the river and directed our steps toward it. Upon our arrival at the spot from which it proceeded we found some old friends whom we had previously seen at Prairie Village, the Messrs. Foster of Fort Atkinson. This was the only cabin in the place. It had just been completed and was located near the old fort.

Reader, if you are ever cold, hungry, weary, "*dry*" and wet at the same time you can imagine our feelings at that time. The accommodations were somewhat limited, it being a log cabin of about the usual size and

¹ Aaron Rankin is my authority.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 140.

contained but one room, occupied by two families. Ten travelers besides ourselves had bespoken lodgings for the night, still we were comfortably provided for.

In the subjoined sketch of the old fort as seen in 1836, Mr. Foster's hospitable residence is included. The sketch is of course an ideal one, and is made from descriptions of those who saw the fort at that time.

It is a pleasant fiction often recounted, that Abraham Lincoln was at Fort Atkinson. As with Homer and his birth place, it is feared that there must be many Lincolns to satisfy the desire of all places to claim the presence of our national hero. Abraham Lincoln, with a companion, was undoubtedly traveling on foot towards his Illinois home, before Fort Atkinson was built. Although this honor cannot be ours, there is some evidence that Jefferson Davis spent some time in the fort.¹ It is stated that he was at this time a lieutenant under Captain Low at Fort Atkinson. Major Davies said, "he was as gentlemanly a man as I ever saw." But even this modicum of notoriety must be denied. There is better evidence that Jefferson Davis was not with his command at Fort Atkinson. He took part in transporting prisoners from Fort Crawford to St. Louis, but that is probably his only connection with the Black Hawk War.²

Even though the old stockade was of no particular value in defense, and even though none of Black Hawk's braves ever had the slightest intention of making an attack on Atkinson's army, it has served the purpose of making an interesting historical center, and probably of locating the beautiful and thriving city of Fort Atkinson.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 407.

² Anderson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 172.

THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN.¹

BY JAMES O'NEILL.

When, after a residence of a year in Wisconsin a quarter of a century ago, I revisited my old home in New York, I met a lawyer in whose office I had been a student. After the usual greetings the conversation ran into a discussion of the relative merits and advantages of the East and West. I was enthusiastic in praise of the rapidly developing new states of the Mississippi Valley, and especially of the State which I had selected for my future home. My friend grew impatient, and began to denounce the West and Western business and society. I remember, especially, his description of a Western railroad. He said we threw up over the prairies a turnpike, laid ties eight or ten feet apart, spiked rails across them, and called it a railroad. The city of Chicago was of mushroom growth, and in commerce and finance would always play a part unimportant compared with the great cities of the East. I parted from my friend smarting, somewhat, from the lash of his sarcasm.

A quarter of a century has elapsed. Chicago has grown to be a giant, and is fast approaching the importance of the metropolis of the great Empire State. The deposits in one of its banks during the past year exceeded that of any bank in the country. The Mississippi States, of which it is the center, have grown to be the richest and most important empire on the face of the globe. In capacity to produce all that is useful and staple for man's support and comfort, this Middle West is incomparably superior to the Atlantic States, including New York herself. We have lived to see the balance of political power pass from the East to the Mississippi Valley. I happened to be in

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899. The author is judge of the 17th judicial circuit.—ED.

the house of representatives when the test vote was taken on the location of the World's Fair. When the Western metropolis was chosen, it was a revelation to the East which startled them. I could turn the tables on my friend today, and by many facts and figures demonstrate the superiority in various directions of the new country, compared with the states where so many of us were born.

At the semi-centennial celebration last summer, in this city, I met a gentleman with whom I had, many years ago, a slight acquaintance. I approached him and found, as I expected, that it was necessary to give my name and to suggest my former connection with an Eastern institution with which both had had some relation. He recalled me at once, and then looking into my face with an air and voice of compassion, said: "Oh, you live somewhere up in northern Wisconsin, do you not?" There was an inflection on the words "somewhere" and "northern Wisconsin" which, it seemed to me, indicated that he pitied me for having gone to the wilderness, among the barbarians.

Well, I meet just such men in Chicago, and not infrequently in the capital and metropolis of our own State. I am ready to inform such people that we in the north need no pity; that we are proud of the whole State; and that we believe the northern half of it is steadily advancing to a position in which, in production of the fruits of the earth, of the staples necessary to the sustenance and comfort of man, in the products of mines and forests, in commerce, and in the possession of a cultivated and enlightened citizenship, it will not suffer by comparison with the southern portion. So I will premise by the statement that I am enthusiastic over the development of northern Wisconsin, and exceedingly hopeful of its future.

The line which separates what may be called northern and southern Wisconsin is not definite. It seems fair to divide the seventy counties of the State equally, and this can be done by taking Brown, Shawano, Marathon, Portage, Wood, Clark, Trempealeau, and all the counties north of these, for the northern half. These thirty-five counties comprise 18,516,583 acres as against 13,500,783 acres in the southern portion.

The population in this northern territory in 1855 was 24,236; in 1880 it had increased to 144,000; in 1895 it was 609,560. Several counties were almost uninhabited twenty years ago. The population of Douglas county in 1880 was only 655; in 1895 it was 30,000, and is now much larger. That of Ashland was then 1,559; now 17,000. Each of these counties now contains a large city, important as centers of commerce and promising much in the future.

At the close of the War of Secession, Eau Claire county had a population of 5,000; in 1895 it was 33,000, and it now contains a city which is the great railroad and commercial center of the northwestern part of the State.

Lincoln county started in 1880 with a population of 2,000, and has increased eight fold. Its county seat, Merrill, is a flourishing manufacturing town.

Marinette has trebled its population in twenty years; its county seat, in connection with its sister across the river in Michigan, enjoys the distinction of being the greatest lumbering manufacturing district in the world. Where was a wilderness only twenty years ago, will now be found a city of about 20,000; a hotel costing \$100,000; an elegant opera house; and modern luxuries.

The assessed valuation of the land in the northern portion, as fixed by the State Board last year, was \$62,736,178 as against \$192,649,393 for the southern half. Thus it will be seen that the south is rated as worth over three times as much as the north. The total value of all property in the State is fixed at \$600,000,000, of which the southern section is assigned \$470,000,000, and the northern \$130,000,000 — which again is a ratio of over three to one.

I just pause to prophesy this as to the future: that every census hereafter will see a noticeable approach in the north to the values in the south, and that within the lives of some now living, it is likely the wealth of the first will exceed that of the latter.

The first settlers of northern Wisconsin were largely from New England, New York, and Canada. Accessions from these sources have been pouring in steadily for the past twenty-five

years; and in addition there has been enrichment of German and Scandinavian blood. This blending has produced a thrifty, industrious, and progressive people, perfectly fitted to the work of clearing the forests and opening hill and valley into beautiful farms.

The Germans, especially, have contributed to the agricultural prosperity of Wisconsin. I chanced to meet Ex-Governor Hoard a short time ago, on his return from a lecturing tour among the farmers of central and northern New York. He described the remarkable depreciation in the value of farm lands in that State. Farms formerly worth \$15,000 to \$20,000 are now selling for \$5,000 to \$8,000. The price has dropped from \$70 to \$80 per acre down to \$20 to \$40. Mr. Hoard's explanation is this: Farmer boys do not stay on the farms. They seek work on the railroads and in the cities, and many go West. So the number of thrifty farmers is constantly diminishing.

My own observations in this State indicate that here the conditions are precisely the contrary. When the oldest son of a German farmer marries, the father buys him a farm. By economy and forethought, provision has been made for this event. Then the remainder of the family begin to save to buy a place for the next boy. Then the next is provided for, and so the family is planted about the parents; and all go steadily and merrily on, in a prosperous career. The farms become beautiful and fruitful, and values steadily advance. As times go on, these farmers have bank accounts, and their sons and daughters begin to fill the high schools and the University, returning generally to apply their learning in agricultural pursuits. I have observed this condition in my own county. In that town where farms are highest in price, the population is most largely German. So there has been no such depression in farm land here, as in New York. In northern Wisconsin there has been a remarkable advance within two or three years.

EDUCATION.

These pioneers of the north have brought with them the common school and all its blessings. Go where you will in the forests of this State, and as soon as a few families have hewed out

rude homes, a good school house is erected at a section corner. It is refreshing to go into new settlements, and in a drive through the woods to come suddenly upon a pretty, new school house, with all modern conveniences, and to meet the rosy children and blooming school mistress.

There was expended in the last school year, in the thirty-five counties which I have mentioned, for school purposes, \$1,204,000.

The sons and daughters of these people are filling the normal schools, academies, and the State University. So although much of the country is new, this people will be accompanied by all the light and culture exhibited in the older communities. No rioters or anarchists are bred here; all are true and patriotic—such material as will forever be the bulwark of a great and expanding nation.

FORESTS.

The forests of northern Wisconsin have been, and are still, rich in valuable timber. The late report of the forestry commissioner indicates that in the twenty-five years from 1873 to 1898, there has been cut and manufactured in twenty-seven of the northern counties sixty-six billion feet of pine, and that there is left only fifteen billion. It is estimated also that there is left sixteen billion feet of hardwood, being oak, basswood, birch, elm, ash and maple. It is said in this report, "The importance of the forest to the State of Wisconsin as a factor of wealth, is very great." The statement that "The wood industries have built every mile of railway and wagon roads, every church and school house, and nearly every town, and that in addition they have enabled the clearing of half the improved land of North Wisconsin" is by no means extravagant.

The lumber industry, especially in hardwood, will continue for a long period, probably fifty years, and will be a constant source of profit.

AGRICULTURE.

The writer hereof was born and reared on a farm; and during the quarter of a century he has lived in this State, he has almost constantly owned and conducted a small stock farm,

which has served as a diversion from the anxiety of professional duty. How delightful to turn from the strife of the court room to the sight of growing grains, green pastures, and flocks and herds! A gentleman who has held high official position in this State, and who is now occupying a responsible position in a great institution, with a salary of ten thousand a year, told me he would enjoy leaving the "prison" — a term used to describe his elegant office where he spends his business hours — and go out to live on a farm, where he could be close to nature and her delights. I imagine that when that same man was a boy, he dreamed he would be supremely happy if he could ever reach such a position of honor and confidence as the one he now holds.

One of the justices of our supreme court has for years owned and managed a large farm. It brings him joy and health, and assists in keeping him in sympathy and touch with the masses of the people. He is exalted in my mind as a man and citizen, on account of his pastoral tastes.¹

Three thousand years ago a sacred writer said: "Thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways and to fear him, for the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land; a land of brooks and of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil, olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness; thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass." Truly, northern Wisconsin is a land of "brooks and of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; of wheat and barley and honey; wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, and whose stones are iron."

Now that the lumber interest is declining, the true and substantial basis of the prosperity of this section of the State is coming to be observed. The southern half of this section is already well advanced, and the coming twenty-five years will be marked by surprising agricultural development. Lands which have been covered with maple, oak, basswood and elm, are generally

¹ The late Justice S. U. Pinney, who happened at that time to be in the audience.— ED.

a clay loam and very fertile; and a large portion of this section is of this character. Of course there are swamps and sandy belts, but when the swamps are drained they are found to be fertile, and especially adapted to raising hay. The sandy belts are suited to producing root crops, and especially potatoes.

In pasturage, and capacity to produce hay, it is believed northern Wisconsin excels every other portion of the United States. And so it is fast becoming a great producer of cattle, sheep, and horses, and butter and cheese. It used to be considered that cattle had to be fed so many months in the year that we could not compete with southern Wisconsin and Illinois. But it is now demonstrated that in a large portion of the section under consideration, any difference in climate is fully compensated by richness and persistency of pasturage, and larger crops of hay. When in the summer and fall, in Rock, Green, and Walworth counties, the pastures are brown and bare, those in Clark, Marathon, Dunn, and Price are fresh and green.

Osseo and Mondovi are two small villages in Trempealeau and Buffalo counties respectively. The former shipped last year 700 cars of agricultural products, and the latter over 900 — mostly cattle, sheep, and hogs. There was distributed among the farmers in these localities, from this source alone, nearly a million dollars. In this connection, Senator Whelan, of Mondovi, a business man and banker, having means of information, states that within the past three years over \$50,000 of mortgages on farms in this vicinity has been paid off. In a few years these farmers will be lenders instead of borrowers.

A paragraph in a Menomonie paper states that one buyer in that city shipped \$54,000 worth of hogs last year to a packing house in Eau Claire.

When I came to Wisconsin in 1873, the principal business in Clark county was lumbering. Large quantities of supplies were shipped in, but no products of the farm were shipped out. Now, all is changed. With the decline of lumbering has come a development of agriculture and dairying, which insures a more permanent and abundant prosperity. According to the census of 1895, Clark county contained farm lands valued at

\$3,966,000. There were cattle valued at \$240,000; sheep valued at \$35,000; horses valued at \$120,000; hay valued at \$300,000; oats valued at \$120,000; potatoes worth \$50,000; butter worth \$128,000; and milch cows worth \$168,000. The last four years have greatly increased these amounts. One Saturday last fall, I happened to be at the depot at my home, and saw a shipment of thirteen cars of stock. I was told that there was distributed that day to the farmers for this, upwards of \$10,000. A steady stream of money is now coming to our farmers for butter, cheese, hogs, cattle, and sheep; the financial condition of the producers is vastly better than it ever was in the palmy days of lumbering. I may be pardoned for saying that I believe Clark is the gem of the northern counties, and within the next quarter century will be one of the richest counties in the State.

Let us turn to a county farther north. I suppose that many people believe that Price county is only a lumbering region, not fitted for agriculture. My friend, M. A. Thayer, under date February 15th of this year, writes me of the products and prospects of the country about Phillips:

The products of Price county are all grains, peas, clovers and grasses especially fine, vegetables that cannot be excelled, and small fruits to perfection, with winter protection. Early corn generally matures, late corn uncertain; sheep, the dairy and their support are the natural products of this section.

Answering yours of yesterday, further would say, we are growing some apples, plums and cherries, but as in most of Wisconsin, they are still in an experimental state, and must be limited to half a dozen varieties. In small fruits such as can be protected in winter, I have been completely surprised at the quality and quantity that can be produced here. I have grown small fruits for many years in southern parts of the State, but have never equalled Price county for vigor of plant, quality and perfection of fruit, and large yields. I attribute this to abundance of snow in the winter to protect against severe weather, late springs preventing early maturity of fruit buds, and quick warm soil giving rapid growth of berry. Our crop is usually a week or ten days later than southern Wisconsin and Michigan, thus giving us better market and ready sales. I have twenty acres in strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, currants and gooseberries. The special advantages of this section will be found in the natural grasses and clover producing qualities of the soil insuring us, beyond a doubt, a first class dairy country.

Two hundred and fifty new families found homes in Price county last year, and prospects now are that more than double the number will locate here during the year 1899.

Good cheap lands on long time and easy payments is sure to settle and improve this country rapidly.

Mr. Thayer's statements are worthy of credit, for he is demonstrating the truth of his theories.

The limit of my paper is reached, and I must omit many subjects worthy of consideration. The commerce of the lake ports the manufacturing industries and the building of thrifty cities and villages, deserve notice, but must be passed. Northern Wisconsin is great and prosperous, but her period of most substantial development is only now in sight. The next quarter century will bring her well up in productive wealth with the southern half of the State, resulting in a commonwealth of patriotic, progressive, and intelligent citizenship, rich in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and to which, as one of the great family of States, we may point with justifiable pride.

THE GREAT LAKES IN RELATION TO THE RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN.¹

BY J. S. GRIFFIN.

A history of transportation would constitute a most complete source of data for the history of civilization — the migrations of men and the incentives thereto, their social and industrial conditions, their implements of peace and war, their arts, their sciences, their customs and institutions, their intertribal and international intercourse, the genius, the tendencies, the aspirations of each particular age or people — the whole life, mental, moral, economic, or institutional, of the human race. With such a conception of the significance of the subject, the writer approaches the task set him of treating even one particular phase of it, in a limited area within the bounds of a twenty-minute paper, with something of the feeling which a certain eminent German historian must have had when, at a banquet, the young lady at his side sweetly begged that he would favor her with a brief history of the world, while the dessert was being brought.

Commerce has always been the tutelary deity of civilization, the trader her high priest, and the great waterways her sacred precincts. Nor is it probable that human invention will ever destroy or greatly disturb these relations. Science and invention are constantly giving new powers to man, adding to his dominion over matter, making him less subject to his environment. But though she may enable him to project his thought, his voice, his vision, instantly around or through the earth, or to the stars, by wireless telegraphy or by ethereal or occult

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

forces, yet no Edison or Tesla has ever dreamed of bodily transporting him, or his food or raiment or shelter, without the aid of material media. These media of transportation may be land, water, or air. But until the realms of air become more practically exploited, waterways must retain their old supremacy as the world's great trade routes. Mr. Tratman, in the *Wisconsin Engineer* for January, shows that the maintenance of ways and structures by the railroads of the United States costs practically \$160,000,000 per annum, over \$866 per mile, or 20 per cent of their total operating expenses. When we consider in addition to this the enormous original cost of the building of these ways and structures, in comparison with the much more perfect permanent waterways, costing practically nothing to build or maintain, we must agree that no mechanical device, no craft of syndicate or trick of legislation is likely soon to turn the tide of traffic from these great arteries. It is along them, on the great harbors and at the heads of navigation of lake or river systems, that the great marts, those busy centers where the world's commercial life mingles and throbs and thrills, will continue to thrive.

Let us state at once the true function of land and water — or, if you please, rail and water commerce, in relation to each other. To extend our metaphor, if the waterways are the great arteries, the railways are the smaller blood-vessels and capillaries. The former carry the great commodities between distant sections of a country, or to remote markets of the world; the latter are the distributors and feeders, which by their minute and intricate ramifications take up the rich material brought to them and supply it to every part where they penetrate, gathering in return and bringing back to the ports of shipment the surplus products of a country. The two systems are, therefore, "As the bow unto the cord is," mutually supplementary, reciprocally profitable, and equally necessary to the country's best development. It follows, that under natural conditions "rail and sail" will seek to meet each other at the most economical points, the water commerce carrying its cargoes in gross bulk as far inland as possible before breaking it up for the more expensive transportation in smaller lots by rail;

while the railroads, *mutatis mutandis*, seek the nearest points at which to deposit their freight, where it may be forwarded by the cheaper though slower agencies of navigation.

These, I say, are the tendencies under natural conditions. Artificial or accidental conditions may for a time modify or even reverse these relations. But such results are temporary or local, and do not invalidate the general proposition.

Nowhere has this law of commercial economy been more completely illustrated than about the head of Lake Superior in northern Wisconsin. In prehistoric times this was coveted territory, a bloody battleground, where two most powerful and intelligent tribes contended through long dark ages for its possession. Professor Turner¹ has called it the key to the continent, for its small lakes and tributary rivers form connecting links between its great lakes and every part of the continent — to the east by way of the Sault to the Atlantic, to the south by the Bois Brulé or the St. Louis and St. Croix to the Mississippi and the Gulf, to the north and west by the Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg, thence by way of the Saskatchewan to the Pacific, by the Nelson to Hudson's Bay, or by the valley of the MacKenzie to the Arctic and across to Asia. Then the smaller streams and the trail through "forests primeval" were the routes of an extensive interior commerce. Of this there are many evidences, such as the distribution of flints, and copper from the ancient mines of northern Wisconsin among the tribes from the Atlantic to the Pacific and southward, perhaps even to Mexico.

For two hundred years from the time of Nicolet's visit to Wisconsin at Green Bay, in 1634, the fur trade was the almost exclusive object of commerce. The Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence became the main highways of this trade, and teemed with various craft carrying inland voyageurs and equipments, or returning laden with peltry. The coureurs de bois threaded every stream and forest — a multitudinous advance guard of civilization, penetrating even to the Pacific.

¹ F. J. Turner, *Early Indian Trade in Wisconsin* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series ix).

With the British occupation in 1763, came a change of policy. Instead of sending out an army of trappers, their plan was to trade direct with the Indians at their posts, and for this purpose the Northwest Company established emporia at Detroit, Mackinac, Sault, the Grand Portage, La Pointe, and at Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior). This change is significant to northern Wisconsin interests, in several ways. The old transcontinental trails, so frequently followed by the French from Lake Superior to the Pacific, with the intimate knowledge of the northern country, became forgotten; a fact which had its bearing in the location of the first Pacific railroad along a more southerly route, instead of by this shorter, cheaper, and natural route of the great northern valleys. But it had also other important meanings. It gave to Jonathan Carver, in 1766, the vision of the great possibilities of a transcontinental route from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific, and the real solution of the long sought northwest passage to Asia—an idea transmitted from him through John Ledyard to Jefferson, and so on to its final realization a century after. It opened the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Erie route to the traffic, instead of compelling it to follow the more northerly route of the French by way of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay. This latter fact, and the monopolization of the trade by the powerful Northwest Company, led to the first deep-waterways improvement. Canals to overcome the Cedar cascades and the Couteau rapids were begun in 1779, and completed in 1781. These were six feet wide, and two and a half feet on the sills. In 1797 the first canal at the Sault was begun, and was used by the Northwest Company to take up loaded canoes. These were usually about 30 feet in length and of about three tons burthen.

The Canadian government has from time to time enlarged the canals of its St. Lawrence system to 5, 9, 12, 14 feet depth over sills. But this was not until after the fur trade had been superseded by new and greater commercial interests.

The lumber and mineral resources of northern Wisconsin and Michigan began to attract attention very soon after this territory came into our possession. By a letter from Samuel Preston, of Stockton, Penn., to the *New York American*, it would seem

that we owe this territory directly to Benjamin Franklin's sagacity, and ultimately to the minute knowledge of the country gained by the French during their occupation. The letter bears date of May 1, 1820, and is quoted in an early number of the *Superior Chronicle* as follows: "Dr. Franklin told me that when he was drawing the treaty of peace with England in Paris he had access to the journals and charts of a corps of French engineers who had sloops and were exploring Lake Superior when Quebec fell into the hands of the British, from which charts he drew the line through Lake Superior to include the most and best copper to the United States, and the time would come when drawing that line would be considered the greatest and best service he ever rendered to the country." By the early '30's the lumber and mineral interests of this section had already attracted a considerable population to the southern shore of Lake Superior. About this time the lead deposits in the southwest part of the State began to attract large numbers of settlers. These mining and lumber camps developed agricultural settlements about them, and soon the old trails were crossed by the plowman's furrow, the haunts of the beaver and otter were exposed by the woodman's ax, and the halcyon days of the fur trade were gone forever.

At first it was the lead trade that superseded it. With the rise of this new interest arose a sharp competition between the two great transportation routes to the eastern market — the one by the Mississippi, via New Orleans and the Gulf to New York, the other by the Great Lakes and the Erie canal. The crying need was a railroad connection between the lead mines and the lakes. On January, 1836, Mr. Edgerton as chairman of the committee on internal improvements in the territorial legislature of Michigan, "reported favorably" on a memorial to the legislative council then in session at Green Bay. He dwells on the importance of the lake traffic, but the burden of his report is the "Milwaukee and Mississippi railroad." He calculates the comparative cost of carrying the annual output of 14,000,000 lbs. of lead by the Mississippi-Gulf and the Lake-Canal routes, and shows an annual saving of \$110,000 by way of the latter. On the 17th of September following, we find Mr. Edgerton, at a meeting

of the citizens of Milwaukee, appointed a member of a committee to correspond with different parts of the territory about the proposed railroad. In the same issue of the paper which contained the account of the meeting (The Milwaukee *Advertiser* of September 22, 1836, as cited by Dr. Meyer), appears the announcement that the legislature will be petitioned at its next session to incorporate a company to build a road from Milwaukee to the City of Superior — although the editor naively confesses his ignorance of the exact geographical location of the northern terminus. In 1842 Moses M. Strong estimated the annual saving in the transportation of the 20,000,000 lbs. output of lead at that time, to be \$2,500,000 in favor of the route by the lakes over that by way of the Gulf to New York.¹

From now on, railroad projects fairly hurtled in the air. The newspapers of the period, up to the panic year of 1857, teem with booming editorials upon proposed new lines, all heading toward their respective cities, the realization of which would make them metropolitan heavens. But the people most eagerly, desperately desirous of railway connections with the rest of the world were those of the isolated communities in the north and in the southwest. The editor of the *Grant County Herald* says: "The River and Lake are feeling for each other, and the railroad must unite them even if Sin and Death get the contract." "Most of us were more anxious to get a railroad," says an old resident of Superior, "than we were to get to heaven." It is difficult at this day to realize the situation of these people of the Upper Lake, stranded on the shore of that great northern sea, its waters seeming to stretch away beyond their horizon into the infinite, while on the other side the solitudes of a vast wilderness lay between them and the nearest civilization.

But they were full of hope, and though themselves often failing of the coveted prize, they were able to shake some good plums down within reach of their fellows at the southwest. The rivalry of Chicago and the growing lead and agricultural interests of northern Illinois, had turned railroad enterprise in that direction. Sectional and corporate interests had delayed and de-

¹ B. H. Meyer, "Early Railroad Legislation in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv.

feated Wisconsin legislation, and the river settlements were still without a railroad. Meantime, a number of keen, far-sighted men had been attracted to the head of the lakes. In 1852 congress granted 750,000 acres of land to the State of Michigan to aid in constructing a ship canal around the Sault rapids, and it was about this time that the agitation culminated for a great transcontinental railroad from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific. Land was pre-empted; prominent men of the nation were interested, and a company was formed to found a great city at the eastern terminus of this road. The site included 4,000 acres and the stock was divided into twenty-seven shares, distributed among the following contributors: Wm. W. Corcoran, banker, Washington, D. C.; Senator Robert J. Walker, Mississippi; John W. Forney, Philadelphia; Senator Wm. A. Richardson, Illinois; Senator Jesse D. Bright, Indiana; Senator John C. Breckenridge, Kentucky; Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois; Julius N. Granger, a relative of Douglas; R. M. T. Hunter, Virginia; Horace S. Walbridge, Toledo; Geo. W. Cass, Pittsburg; Geo. E. Nettleton, Wm. H. Newton, James Stinson, Superior; Daniel A. Robertson, Daniel A. J. Baker, R. R. Nelson, Edmund Rice, St. Paul.

Many of these senators and capitalists, from nearly every section of the country, were also personally interested in the Pacific railroad scheme, so that the interests of that enterprise and those of the young metropolis were united and supported by an influence almost national in extent and character. The southern Wisconsin contingent was not long in recognizing and allying itself with this strong young power at the north. Common cause was made in the halls of congress, and by an act approved June 3, 1856, the national government granted "to the state of Wisconsin, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of a railroad from Madison or Columbus, by way of Portage City, to St. Croix river or lake, between the townships twenty-five and thirty-one, and from thence to the end of Lake Superior and to Bayfield; and, also, from Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago, northerly to the state line, every alternate section of land designated by odd numbers, for six sections in width on each side of said roads, respectively." Under the provisions of this grant

the State legislature delegated the work of construction to two incorporated companies — the one authorized to construct the road from Fond du Lac to Superior, touching the Michigan line and connecting with the Michigan roads, to the harbors of Marquette and Ontonagon; the other, the La Crosse & Milwaukee, to construct from Madison to Hudson, thence to Superior. The "pull" of the Superior contingent in congress is easy to trace in the heading of these roads towards that city. The provision for the branch from the St. Croix to Bayfield was the work of Senator Henry M. Rice of Minnesota, who had acquired property interests in that town.

The eastern company, incorporated as the Wisconsin & Superior, or Portage, Winnebago & Superior, was by act of the State legislature February 12, 1857, consolidated with the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac, now the Wisconsin Central. It was originally entitled to some 1,800,000 acres of public lands. But by the straightening of its line between Portage and Stevens Point it lost 251,800 acres. Although it has never completed its line from Ashland to Superior, it has never relinquished its claim to lands between these points. But a rival claim to these lands was set up by the Northern Pacific, when in 1884-85 it built its line between these points. This claim of the Northern Pacific has recently been confirmed by Judge Lochran of the United States district court of Minnesota. By this, the Wisconsin Central will lose some 155,000 acres more, reducing her actual benefits from the land grants to about 1,393,120 acres. The construction in the western part of the State, carried on in several divisions under the names of the Western Wisconsin, the La Crosse & Milwaukee, the Tomah & St. Croix, and the St. Croix & Superior railway, with branch to Bayfield, resulted in the consolidation of all of them, August 8, 1878, into the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, now developed into the "Omaha" system. It has received under the land grant 1,408,452.69 acres.¹

By a provision of the original grant, the lands could be sold only in a quantity "not exceeding one hundred and twenty sections, and included within a continuous length of twenty

¹ Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884).

miles of road," and only upon certification of the governor that twenty continuous miles of the road had been built, could "another like quantity" of the land granted be sold, "and so, from time to time, until said roads are completed." The rapid settling of the State from the south made ready sales and pushed the work of construction steadily on from that direction. Work was also actively begun from the Superior end. Before the close of 1856 the contract had been let, and during the summer of 1857 Dillon, Jackman and Jarrett, contractors, had about fifteen miles graded. Then came the great panic, the contractors failed, their supplies and equipment were brought back to Superior and sold at auction — "a God-send to the poor people," says my chronicler, "for the winter was coming on and provisions were scarce" — the work stopped, and a long night of disappointment set in.

Disappointed, indeed, but not disheartened, with a sublime faith in the destiny of their city — their City of Destiny, they put it — and a courage nothing short of heroism, the people of the land-locked village by the lake were soon again busy with new plans. Within the next three years many paper roads were on the way to Superior, among the minor attractions being the Milwaukee & Superior, and the Milwaukee & Horicon. The latter, popularly known as the "air line" and intended to connect at Superior with the contemplated Northern Pacific railway, was actually graded some twenty miles out from Superior, in the summer of 1880. But a contest arose between it and the La Crosse & Milwaukee, now the "Omaha," over the land grant between Superior and Spooner. The Omaha won, and the work was abandoned. In 1892, when the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic extended its line from Iron River into Superior, it adopted this old "air line" grade. The Milwaukee & Superior was a project of Alexander Mitchell, who early contemplated pushing his line through the lumber belt to Lake Superior. By this time, however, the Civil War was on, Douglas was in his grave, the powerful influence of the southern senators in congress was lost, and new conditions had turned public interests and favors towards the rapidly developing middle west. Thus it was that railroad enterprise in northern Wisconsin languished for a time.

But the visions that hovered most persistently and seductively before the eyes of the Superiorites were those of two great national highways, both starting from the head of the lakes and traversing the country at right angles to each other, one southwestward to the Gulf, the other westward to the Pacific, forming with the great lakes a transcontinental route.

The Lake Superior and Mississippi project was an inheritance from the old days of rivalry between the Mississippi and the lake routes, and resulted in the building of what is now the St. Paul & Duluth railway, the pioneer road to the head of the lakes. It did not enter Wisconsin, however, until 1888, when a bridge was built across St. Louis bay and its trains were run to Superior.

If anyone supposes that the age of romance is past, that the spirit of poetry is dead, and that Pegasus has been put to flight by the steeds of steel and fire, let him read the story of the building of the Northern Pacific — he will find an unwritten epic between the lines. In boldness of conception, in the great national and world interests involved, in its fascination over the minds of men, in the picturesqueness, the grandeur, the heroism of some of its characters, in pathos, in humor, it is worthy to rank with the Odyssey, or the old songs of the Mist Land. It has its Ulysses and its Nestor, its Siegfried and its Hagen, its Chevalier Bayard, its Don Quixote and its Sancho Panza. Here there is only time to say that this first-planned, last-finished sea-to-sea route eventually vindicated the faith of its first prophets as the most feasible, natural, shortest one, where the Atlantic and the Pacific reach a third of the way across the continent towards each other, and the gradients of the line connecting them are the lowest. Great international conflicts on which the destinies of the continent were staked, panics, civil war, politics, sectional jealousies, and the southward deflection of the tide of western emigration which has been noticed as one of the results of the British occupation of the northwest, are some of the causes which delayed it for a hundred years.

The first wheelbarrow of dirt for the eastern division was shoveled by Joshua B. Culver, the mayor of Duluth, and delivered by Col. Hiram Hayes of Superior, at Komoko, near Thomp-

son, Minn., February 15, 1870, amid rejoicings and speech-making by the citizens of both places. But Superior had to bear another disappointment. Instead of running his line into this city, Jay Cooke leased the St. Paul & Duluth from Thompson to Duluth, and made Duluth his lake terminus. The Wisconsin town was doomed to ten more years of weary waiting.

The drama has its comedy side, however. For safety from the storms of the lake, Jay Cooke had to build his docks inside the natural harbor formed by the narrow tongue of land called Minnesota Point. To secure an entrance of their own into the harbor, the Duluth people cut an artificial channel through the point. Superior, located just opposite the natural entry, out of chagrin at seeing herself thus cheated, brought suit under claim of damage to her harbor by the change of current through the new channel, and compelled Duluth, at a cost of \$100,000, to build a dyke from Rice's to Minnesota Point. Now, however, she found that Duluth had a little private harbor all her own, and she was not in it. So one dark night a party of Superiorites stealthily rowed over to the obnoxious dyke and blew up the enemy's works which they had themselves compelled him to build.

Superior next determined to build a connecting line of her own to the Northern Pacific junction. James Stinson and Horace S. Walbridge, two members of the original townsite company, were rivals for the building of this road. At a mass meeting to raise funds for the enterprise, both made speeches. Walbridge told the people how he had come to Toledo, a poor barefoot boy, had by his own efforts acquired a fortune there, and had now cast his life and fortune with them. The crowd took up the phrase, "Barefoot Boy," and it stuck to him all the rest of his life. When the day came to vote on the bonds, the town was decorated with "hand-painted" portraits of the "Barefoot Boy" with an abundant display of healthy looking toes. The Walbridge bonds got the votes. About one hundred property holders voted \$300,000 worth of bonds, of which \$75,000 were placed with Jay Cooke & Co. Upon Cooke's failure in 1873, all but \$25,000 were called in, and the last of these were paid in 1892. And still Superior was without a railroad.

In 1880, James Bardon of Superior and H. S. Walbridge of Toledo attended a meeting in President Billings's office in New York, with a view to securing some kind of terms for a connection with the Northern Pacific. There was also a Duluth delegation in the city, and both parties were watching each other's movements, the Superiorites confessedly nervous as to the probable influence of the Duluthians against them. Bardon and Walbridge went early to the meeting, and were wondering what kind of a reception the Duluth people would get. Presently Mr. Billings was called into an adjoining room and asked Mr. Bardon to preside in his absence. Hardly was he out of the room, when in came the gentlemen from Duluth, evidently surprised to find their rivals in the front seat and holding the reins! At this meeting Superior secured a promise of the dearly sought railroad, but at that price of "one full and equal third part of all and singular the lands, premises and real estate in the town or city of Superior, supposed to contain five thousand and one hundred (5,100) acres," together with 100 feet right of way through the city. No further commentary on the hunger of their hearts for a railroad is necessary, than the fact that this price was readily paid by nearly every property-owner in the city. They simply lay down and invited this Moloch to walk over them.

The road came. The town awoke from its twenty years' nightmare to find the rosiest dream of its youth suddenly realized as if by magic. The rest is already ancient history. In 1884 the Northern Pacific was completed as a trans-continental line, and extended to Ashland. Besides the old land grant from Superior to Ashland, the road claims 200 feet right of way on each side of its track for this entire distance.

The Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic, completed to Superior in 1892, gives to northern Wisconsin a through trunk line to the east, and though practically a Canadian line, fulfills the promise of one of the original projects of an Atlantic and Pacific railroad—a direct New England route. The "Soo" line, from Minneapolis to the Sault Ste. Marie, was a purely business enterprise of Minneapolis interests; but it well illustrates the thesis of this paper as to the mutual relations of lake and rail-

road traffic. The Great Northern, however, with its octopus-like arms stretching far out over the rich territory tributary to its main line, and its magnificent fleet of steel freight and passenger steamers on the lakes, is the almost magical realization, by one cool-headed, far-sighted business man, of the dreams of Carver and Ledyard, of Whitney and Perham, and the brave, patient pioneers who half a century ago came to northern Wisconsin at the head of its great lake, and deliberately staked their fortunes on the result.

The result may be summed up statistically to date as follows:

SAULT CANAL STATISTICS.

	Passages.	Tonnage.
1855, opened, locks 12 ft. water.....	.....	106,296
1871, first railroads to head of lake.....	1,637	752,101
1883, new lock, 16 ft. water.....	4,315	2,267,101
1898, Fosston branch, Great Northern.....	17,761	18,622,745
Freight of 1898 valued at \$240,000,000.		

There is a steady increase of traffic corresponding to increased facilities of rail or lake transportation, until it is now four and a half times that of the Suez canal. Meanwhile the freight rates have decreased from 9.7 mills per ton-mile by rail in 1887 to 8.0 mills in 1892; and water-rates have decreased from 2.3 mills per ton-mile in 1887 to 0.8 mills in 1898. The Dominion Statistician of Canada says that in the early part of the century the cost of transporting a barrel of salt from Montreal to Lake Erie was equal to the value of 18 bushels of wheat. In 1898 the cost of carrying a barrel of flour from Superior to Buffalo was ten cents. But this is not all. President Hill of the Great Northern says that with a 20-foot channel to the sea (and this will soon be accomplished) he will cut the present prices of transportation in two. This will mean a direct profit and better living to every man, woman and child in the country. Superior before 1885 was a good example of the uselessness of navigation without railroads. Wichita, Kansas, where the writer once lived through a typical western boom, is an equally good example of the impossibility of building up a great city by railroads alone. It may be argued that both are useless without territory, natural resources

and population. But even more so are the latter without proper transportation facilities. Superior, since 1885, is an illustration of the results when "sail meets rail." Before that time her commerce was practically nothing. In 1898, she handled 155,000 loaded cars of freight; 3,056 vessels arrived and cleared at her docks; 70,000,000 feet of lumber were sawed; 4,000,000 barrels of flour were shipped from her mills; 1,800,000 tons of coal delivered at her coal docks; and 51,000,000 bushels of grain received at her elevators. The grain shipments of the Superior-Duluth port for the crop season — five months, July-December, 1898 — were 54,000,000 bushels, of which Superior got 70 per cent. The official records show the net tonnage of vessels arriving and clearing at the port of Superior in 1898, to be 4,863,304; of the Suez canal, 4,842,078 — a difference of twenty thousand tons in favor of Superior. The railroad freight handled in Superior in 1898 aggregates 7,509,904,040 pounds. From nothing in 1885, the mileage of railroads centering in Superior has increased to 18,512 miles, and according to the state commissioner's records, Douglas county's railroad tax in 1898 was greater than that of any other county in the State.

The present year promises to be one of unusual activity in rail and water transportation enterprises at the head of the Lakes. Stimulated by the surprising records of last year, a number of roads, most prominent among them being the "Burlington Route," are projecting extensions to this point; new fleets of vessels will be put afloat, and old ones enlarged; vessels of larger capacity than ever are building, and a large appropriation has recently been made for the re-survey of routes for the proposed Lake Superior-Mississippi canal, by way of the Bois Brulé, or the St. Louis and St. Croix rivers.

We have seen the first impulse to this wonderful development given by the beginning of the Sault canal in 1852, and the prospects of a railroad from the head of the lake to the Pacific; we have seen how the lake and the railway then began to feel for and at last found each other, though "Sin and Death" did often "get the contract;" how they have since in their mutual development followed the natural laws of commerce; what have been some of the results, and what possibilities yet await real-

ization; and through it all, in what intimate ways distant, even isolated portions of our State or our country have often been united in interest and destiny.

It is doubtful whether there exists anywhere a more interesting field for the study of the dynamics of trade than northern Wisconsin.

THE HISTORY OF A GREAT INDUSTRY.¹

BY JOHN LUCHSINGER.

That portion of Wisconsin which lies west of Rock River and south of the Wisconsin is the blue-grass region of the State,—underlaid with limestone, the work and product of ages on ages of beings that lived, worked, and perished, their remains piled up in petrified masses; when crumbled by frost and softened by rains, they give up their long-stored substance to nourish the rich vegetation which now flourishes above. The luxuriant blue-grass which covers hill and dale, is the means by which nature draws from the old and buried past, nourishment and life for the present. It covers the surface as with a dense carpet; frost and drouth cannot stifle it so long as its roots are nourished by the exhaustless stock of limestone beneath. Hill and valley afford the finest pastures and meadows for the many herds of dairy cattle which one sees; and these produce the milk from which is made the excellent butter and cheese for which this region is noted.

Cheese factories and creameries dot the landscape, more and more frequently, as one gets nearer the hills and among them. The little city of Monroe, county seat of Green county, is in the very midst of the cheese region. Beautifully located on a high, rolling plateau, it has a progressive, intelligent population of nearly 4,000. In this county are two hundred cheese factories and thirty creameries. Practically all of the farmers are interested in the dairy business. Ten million pounds of cheese were made in this county alone, in the year 1898; and nearly as much more in the counties adjoining.

While this is a remarkable showing of the extent of this business, yet the most interesting and singular feature about

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899

it is the fact that all or nearly all of this cheese is of the foreign or fancy varieties; not one per cent is of the American, or standard cheddar kind. The most of it is the well known Swiss cheese. Another noteworthy fact is that nearly all of those engaged in making this cheese, and in buying and selling it, are Swiss or of Swiss origin. It is as common to hear, in Green county, broad Swiss spoken, and to hear the Yodel song from far-away Switzerland, as to hear German in Milwaukee.

How this great business originated and grew to its present dimensions is an interesting study. How, from extremely humble and small beginnings made by people driven by poverty to found new homes in this once wild land, it has been possible to establish this immense industry, is an object lesson of the highest value, especially to those who, impatient of step-by-step advancement, would jump at one bound into greatness. No nation ever became great suddenly; no great business or fortune has ever been built up, except by patient and persistent work. Even character and reputation are formed little by little, by every-day actions, words and thoughts. So this great dairy industry does not owe its greatness to large investment of capital, loud advertising or lucky speculation. Patient toil and wise use of the little germs of knowledge of this business, which a few Swiss immigrants fifty-four years ago brought with them, have accomplished this great work.

America, since its discovery by Europeans, has been peopled by swarm after swarm of colonists detached from the great European hive. Religious persecutions, political troubles, and wars have caused many such emigrations; but poverty, that greatest mover of man's energies and ambitions, did more to bring colonists here than all other causes. And poverty, or rather the energy it begot, caused the origin of this remarkable business.

Switzerland, from a farmer's view, is one of the most sterile countries of Europe. More than half its surface is unfit for cultivation, because of rocks and glaciers. Its people get a living only by unceasing work and strict frugality. It is rich only in heroic history, grand scenery and an ever-overflowing population.

From that country, in 1845, forced by economic necessity, twenty-seven families came to Wisconsin. Like the bees before swarming, they had sent in advance two pioneers to spy out the land and find a suitable settling place. These two, after months of weary travel through nearly all of the Northwestern States, passed by the broad rich prairies of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri, near to commerce and transportation, as unfit for their purpose, and, among the roughest hills of Green county, selected the location for the colony, which complied closest with the instructions they had, to secure a location as like old Switzerland as possible, that there might be less homesickness.

The colony after a journey of four months — down the Rhine to the ocean in boats, across the ocean to Baltimore in a sailing vessel, thence to Galena by canal and steamer, from Galena to Green county on foot — clustered in the little valley of New Glarus, and began the usual work of the early settler.¹ Here, the greatest of all industries in southern Wisconsin had its birth. Just as soon as the settler owned a cow, the germ of knowledge of cheesemaking, which he had brought with him, began to sprout. At first, infinitely small was the growth; a pailful of milk, a little copper kettle, and a wooden hoop split from a sapling, were the beginnings of the industry. Cheeses no larger than a saucer, which could be held by the hand of a child, were the ancestors of the 200-lb. Swiss cheese now standard.

The little kettle, used for cooking purposes and hung in the fireplace of the log cabin, was the predecessor of the cheese-factory, with all its conveniences, of today. The wife and daughter were the first cheesemakers, because the men could spare no time from the work of clearing, breaking and fencing. They went to work with what poor means were at their command; their cheeses became larger and better, as increase in cows and experience came, and a steady and remunerative market was created for what could be spared. Up to 1870, cheese was not made by any factory system; each cheese dairy used only the milk produced on one farm. Of course a spirit of emulation

¹ See Mr. Luchsinger's historical sketch, "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi.—Ed.

arose, and it became a matter of pride to produce better cheese than others.

A little incident witnessed by the writer, illustrates the feeling then prevailing. Two settlers named Rudy and George met. Rudy said to George: "I have had splendid cheese this season; I have sold two wagon loads at Madison for 12 cents a pound, and am going to Freeport next week with another load for which I expect 13 cents a pound. I have but a very few inferior cheese."

George listened and smoked, and said nothing until Rudy closed his talk by saying: "How is it with you, George? Have you hauled off any of your cheese?"

George slowly took his pipe from his mouth and said, "No."

"Why, what is the matter; ain't your cheese ripe?"

"Nothing is the matter," said George, "I have no cheese to haul away; I have sold them all as fast as they have ripened, right at home, for 14 cents a pound."

Cheesemaking by dairy farmers continued to increase, but wheat-growing was, until 1870, the principal business of the farmer. Then came the chinch bugs in such swarms as to ruin not only the wheat crops but also barley, oats, and corn. Wheat farmers realized that a change must be made in their business, or the insect pests would devour their farms. Those in debt became more deeply involved. The young men were leaving the country for the farther West, preferring the hardships of a frontier life to being debt-ridden here.

Then it was that the cheese factory came. Two small factories were built by farmers in the roughest parts of the county; but, inexperienced and timid as they were, it required no small amount of argument and persuasion to get them to invest the necessary labor and money. Modest and inexpensive as the original venture was, the first year's results showed that climate, soil, grass, and people were well adapted to the profitable production of cheese in factories.

So, year after year, more factories, in ever widening circles, were put up; more kinds of cheese began to be made; better methods of making were used; the result was, a uniformity in quality, and an increasing market not attained under the old system, which was very soon abandoned.

N. Gerber, J. Regez, and J. Karlen were the pioneers of the factory system here, as applied to making Swiss and fancy cheese.

Until very recently, all of the cheesemakers were Swiss, and for the most part imported, as no dairy school in this State teaches the making of fancy cheese.

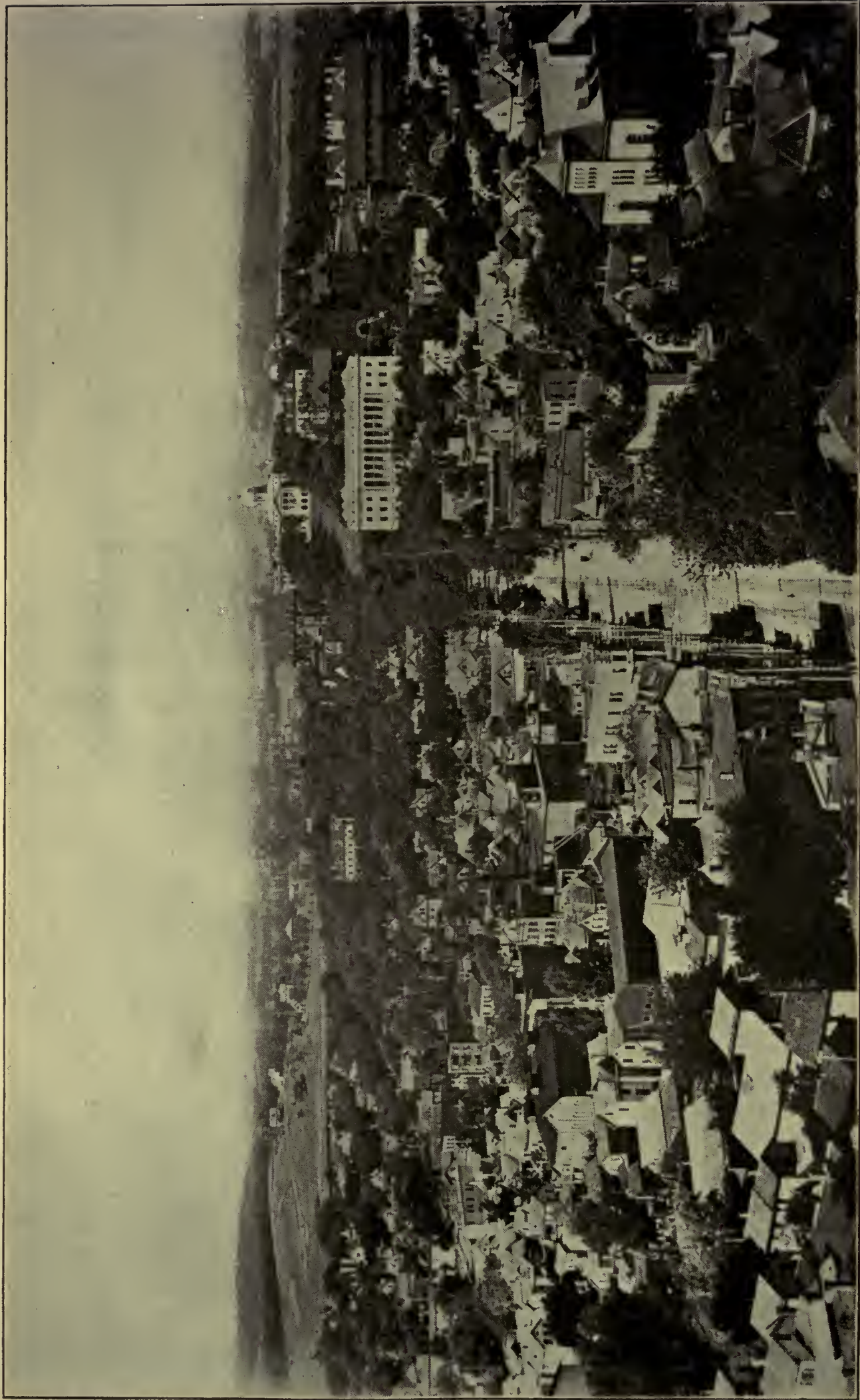
It is now acknowledged that Wisconsin-Swiss cheese is the equal of that made in Switzerland. It has captured the American market; it is regularly quoted in the markets of all our cities; it has come to stay. Why not? With Swiss farmers, Swiss cheesers, Swiss merchants, the best of grasses and water, and intelligent management, it cannot fail to produce an article which has reduced importation of foreign cheese to a minimum.

I will only add that in the dairy section named, farmers of all nationalities have perforce been drawn into the production of dairy goods. Very few there are who are not directly or indirectly connected with this business, which, with its necessary accompaniments of regular, steady work and intelligent attention all the year round, has done much to make southwestern Wisconsin one of the most law-abiding, intelligent, progressive, and prosperous farming sections of the whole country.

University Hall. Science Hall.
Historical Library.

Ladies' Hall.

Gymnasium.



GENERAL VIEW OF STATE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Showing the relation of the Library and Museum Building of the State Historical Society to the neighboring buildings of the University.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
AT ITS
FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Held December 14, 1899

AND OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION

Held at Green Bay, September 5-7, 1899

Published by Authority of Law

MADISON
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER
1900

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer, constitute the executive committee.

STANDING COMMITTEES (OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).

Library — Turner (chairman), Gregory, Raymer, Anderson, and the Secretary (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum — Hanks (chairman), Johnson, Knox, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication — Conover (chairman), Jones, Sanborn, Bryant, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance — Van Slyke (chairman), Morris, Burrows, Palmer, and Doyon.

Advisory Committee (ex-officio) — Turner, Hanks, Conover, and Van Slyke.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES (OF THE SOCIETY).

Draper Homestead — Van Slyke (chairman), Steensland, and Thwaites.

Biennial Address 1901 — Thwaites (chairman), Adams, Stevens, Gregory, and Turner.

Field Meetings — Turner (chairman), Wight, Jackson, Usher, and Thwaites.

Relations with the State University — Thwaites (chairman), Hanks, Burrows, Morris, and Raymer.

Dedication of New Building — Turner (chairman), Hanks, Gregory, Wight, and Thwaites.

LIBRARY STAFF.

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REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

LIBRARIAN AND ASST. SUPERINTENDENT

ISAAC SAMUEL BRADLEY

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

MINNIE MYRTLE OAKLEY

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CLINTON GUILFORD PRICE (library)

CLARENCE SCOTT HEAN (library)

CEYLON CHILDS LINCOLN (gallery and museum)

LIBRARY OPEN — From 9 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.

GALLERY AND MUSEUM OPEN — Morning, 9 to 12:30; Afternoon, 1:30 to 5.

*On leave of absence.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.¹

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in its rooms in the capitol, Thursday evening, December 14, 1899.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

In the absence of President Johnston, Vice President Wight took the chair, and spoke as follows:

Fellow Members of the State Historical Society: Less than one week ago, our president warned me of his enforced absence from this evening's meeting, and requested me to preside in his place. I occupy, not fill, his chair. If you miss his shrewd Scotchness, his wise suggestions, the fault is his, the misfortune yours.

It is a source of regret that still another annual meeting finds us in these cramped and crowded quarters. Fond hope had fostered the notion that, in a more convenient and capacious retreat, under brighter auspices, the Society might end the last year that dates eighteen hundred. This hope has no fruition. To two causes is the delay in the completion of our building ascribable: Uncertainty as to the decision of the last legislature upon the request of the commissioners for the money necessary to complete the structure, and the great scarcity of workmen and materials, which—not here alone but universally in the United

¹The report of proceedings, here published, is synopsized from the official MS. records of the Society.—SEC.

States—has hampered the building trade during the past season. But

“Hope springs eternal in the human breast,”

and there seems now no reason to doubt that the dawning last year of the nineteenth century will be our last year in the old capitol. Indeed, by next May I believe we will take up our tents like the Arab and proceed with our treasures to our new White House. Extra exertion to accomplish this May hegira is, I understand, required even though our new abode may not be entirely complete, for the capitol authorities are in haste to parcel out these surroundings into committee rooms, against the recurrence in 1901 of that biennial visitation, a session of the legislature. Another urgent reason for early removal, lies in the never ceasing fear of fire and ruin in our present inflammable quarters.

As if in preparation for a more commodious home, our accumulation of new books and pamphlets during the year now closing has been greatly in excess of the usual. The new titles aggregate 7,727. This gratifying result has not, however, been achieved by purchase, for increased administrative expenses have reduced to not much more than one thousand dollars the revenue expendible on books. The unusual accessions are due to two causes: exchanges of duplicates and gifts—chiefly the latter. The report of the executive force will exhibit that of the additions of the year 1899 eighty-five per cent were gifts, the remaining fifteen per cent purchases and exchanges combined. It is a great pity that a Society of such a widely favorable reputation as this should possess so meager a book-purchasing fund for its library, and should feel so badly cramped for means in every other department of its activities.

The securing of gifts and the consummation of exchanges have entailed much labor upon the library staff. To this labor all have made themselves equal. To their willingness, cheerfulness, loyalty, and intelligence the Society owes praise. I have never drawn upon any of this force for aid in research—

whether for myself or for others—without having the drafts honored with alacrity and ability, to the utmost of the need. I trust I may be indulged in recording that at the annual meeting of the American Library Association held in Atlanta, Georgia, last May, our secretary was elected the president of that body for the current year. This is a not singular evidence of the reputation which this Society enjoys, and of the esteem which the *personnel* of its library commands among its fellow institutions of similar character in this country.

I am informed that, as president of the American Library Association, Mr. Thwaites has secured long-delayed but proper recognition of the dignity of the profession of the librarian. In the census of 1900, for the first time the librarian will rank as a distinct profession, with separate statistics, like the divine, the physician and the lawyer.

While removal to our new building will secure us an enhanced income from the State treasury, even this increase will not be sufficient to afford us a sound financial backing. Increased running expenses, salaries for enlarged staff, expanded bills for heating, lighting, water, janitor service, and repairs will greatly drain the income, even after partitioning expenses with the University. The legislature of 1901, if it *must* meet, should largely appropriate for our relief, or liberal-handed private wealth should supply the deficit.

But turning from this somewhat somber view, there has been much of encouragement during this year. More and more has this Society moved away from its traditional moorings as an exclusive, almost an aristocratic retreat for the learned alone, and carried on its present work of self-popularization. Too long was the State Historical Society of Wisconsin simply a name to the people at large—*vox et praeterea nil*. More and more is the Society commending itself as a practical assistant to intellectual activity among all classes; more and more are the people of Wisconsin divining what a thesaurus of educational wealth rests upon these shelves and is anxious to reach their hands.

Three movements to bring the library of this Society and the citizens of Wisconsin into close acquaintance, are now being pushed: First, the attendance of various members of the executive staff at historical or other gatherings held here and there throughout the State; second, the sending of miniature libraries for temporary abode into different sections, accompanied by leaflets imparting bibliographical and other like information; third, the holdings of field meetings of this Society in historically-strategic portions of the State. Two of these gatherings are already history—one held here, and one in Green Bay. The latter meeting, colored as it was by a last century, even by a seventeenth century environment, was particularly attractive and inspiring, and was participated in with much enthusiasm by the citizens of Green Bay and of De Pere. The hospitality of these places provoked our heartfelt thanks, while the presence and influence of members of this Society quickened the culture of these ancient cities and led to the re-establishment upon a substantial basis of a long dormant local historical society. The pilgrimage to De Pere to dedicate a monument to the fortitude and heroism of the Jesuit Father Allouez, will never be forgotten by those who were present.

Future itineraries to other interesting portions of the State are planned for coming seasons. They will be very helpful in making this Society a potent intellectual force in Wisconsin.

“All roads lead to Rome”—so all topics of this address lead to our new building. We are to congratulate ourselves that next year we will have a more commodious and adaptable place for our Society meetings. A lecture hall will provide us with a more convenient sessions room, and I doubt not that under new conditions a more social aspect will characterize our gatherings. It is worthy of bright hope, nay rather of confident expectation, that our removal to our fixed home will be the quick initiative of a prosperous and glorious future.

One hundred years ago this evening, he whom this country always especially honors and fondly calls its Father, he who has

been the chief source and inspiration of American history, whose career has enlisted the pens of many biographers and filled the pages of many volumes, breathed his final breath. Let us feel the influence of his immortal presence upon us, as we constitute ourselves for this annual meeting.

RESIGNATIONS.

The secretary presented the resignations of Hon. Elisha W. Keyes, Maj. Frank W. Oakley, Wayne Ramsay, Esq., and Hon. Horace A. Taylor, as curators of the Society, with the explanation that the three first-named had found their positions incompatible, according to rulings of the attorney general, with the anti-railway-pass statute adopted by the last legislature. Mr. Taylor's removal from the State, was the occasion of his resignation.

The resignations were accepted.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The secretary presented the reports of the Green Bay and Ripon historical societies, which were organized in October and November respectively, and are now auxiliaries to the State Society. The reports were ordered printed with the proceedings of this meeting. [See Appendix, D.]

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The secretary, in behalf of the executive committee, presented its annual report, which was adopted. [See Appendix, A.]

FINANCIAL REPORTS.

Chairman N. B. Van Slyke, of the committee on finance, presented the report of that committee, approving the annual report of Treasurer Proudfit, both of which reports were adopted. [See Appendix, B and C.]

CURATORS ELECTED.

Messrs. J. B. Parkinson, R. L. McCormick, R. G. Siebecker, J. H. Carpenter, and Julius Zehnter were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators,—five to fill vacancies, and twelve to serve for the ensuing term of three years,—and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

For term expiring at annual meeting in December, 1900.

Hon. James Sutherland, of Janesville, to succeed Hon. Elisha W. Keyes, resigned.

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks, to succeed Hon. Silas U. Pinney, deceased.

For term expiring at annual meeting in December, 1901.

Gen. E. E. Bryant, to succeed Maj. Frank W. Oakley, resigned.

Maj. M. R. Doyon, to succeed Wayne Ramsay, Esq., resigned.

Hon. Ellis B. Usher, of La Crosse, to succeed Hon. Horace A. Taylor, resigned.¹

For term expiring at annual meeting in December, 1902.

Charles K. Adams, LL. D.

Hon. Buell E. Hutchinson

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.

Hon. John A. Johnson

Hon. Emil Baensch

Hon. Burr W. Jones

Hon. George B. Burrows

J. Howard Palmer, Esq.

Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.

Prof. John B. Parkinson

John C. Freeman, LL. D.

Hon. N. B. Van Slyke

DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDING.

The following resolution, offered by F. J. Turner, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved—That the event of the removal of the Society to its new building be observed by appropriate ceremonies; the arrangement for the same to be placed in the hands of a select committee of five, with full power to act, to be appointed by the president, said committee to choose their own chairman.

The chair stated that the appointment of the committee would be left to the president.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

¹As this volume is going through the press, the Secretary has received a letter from Mr. Usher, expressing his regret that he finds himself unable to serve in this capacity.—SEC.

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The annual meeting of the executive committee was held at the close of the Society meeting, December 14, 1899.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Messrs. F. J. Turner, R. B. Anderson, and F. K. Conover were appointed a committee on the nomination of a vice president to succeed Dr. James D. Butler, of Madison (resigned), for the unexpired term ending in December, 1901, and reported in favor of Hon. Ellis B. Usher, of La Crosse, who was unanimously elected.¹

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

The following new members, reported by a committee consisting of Messrs. George Raymer, George B. Burrows, Henry M. Lewis, Charles N. Gregory, and Halle Steensland, were unanimously elected:

Annual Members.

Appleton—Alfred Galpin.

Beloit—Rev. William F. Brown.

Berlin—Charles G. Starks.

De Pere—E. Fletcher Parker.

Green Bay—Hon. E. H. Ellis, William L. Evans, Arthur C. Neville, B. L. Parker, Rev. L. A. Ricklin.

Janesville—Mrs. Mary L. Beers, Hon. Theo. W. Goldin.

Madison—Prof. J. B. Johnson, E. R. Stevens, John M. Winterbotham.

Milwaukee—Howard S. Eldred, Hon. Francis B. Keene.

Neillsville—Hon. James O'Neill.

Wauwatosa—Dr. Horatio Gates.

¹As this volume is going through the press, the Secretary has received a letter from Mr. Usher, expressing his regret that he finds himself unable to serve in this capacity.—SEC.

Life Members.

Darlington—Hon. Philo A. Orton.

Green Bay—Mgr. J. J. Fox.

Madison—Dr. J. A. Mack, Rev. J. M. Naughtin, John M. Olin, J. H. Palmer, E. B. Steensland.

Monroe—Hon. John Luchsinger.

The meeting therupon stood adjourned.

APPENDIX.

- A. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
- B. REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.
- C. REPORT OF TREASURER.
- D. REPORTS FROM AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.
- E. GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
- F. MISCELLANEOUS GIFTS AND DEPOSITS.
- G. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED.
- H. WISCONSIN NECROLOGY, YEAR ENDING NOV. 30, 1899.
- I. LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS, IN 1899.
- K. STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT GREEN BAY, SEPTEMBER, 1899 ; WITH ADDRESSES DELIVERED THEREAT.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

[Submitted to the Society at the Forty-seventh Annual Meeting, December 14, 1899.]

SUMMARY.

It has not proved possible to realize the hope expressed by the committee in its report a twelvemonth ago, that the new building would be occupied by the Society "before the close of 1899;" but there now seems every reason to believe that the date of this important event will not be later than July next.

During the fiscal year just closed, the staff have largely been engaged in the great work of preparation for removal—the task of classifying and shelf-listing the library being one of the prerequisites. As reported a year ago, this work of preparation and the rapidly-increasing demands upon the resources of the library, both by actual visitors and correspondence, have continued to keep our income for purchases reduced to a painfully low condition, thus greatly crippling our possibilities for usefulness. Removal to the new building brings with it an increased annual stipend from the State treasury; but the increase in expenses of maintenance will be very great—how much, we as yet cannot foretell, so that to what extent our purchasing capacity will be enhanced is as yet unknown.

While our growth in books and pamphlets during the year has been quite up to the average, owing in great part to gifts,—chiefly of public documents and monographs, which are of prime importance in original research,—our accessions of necessary books "in the trade," or standard sets of sources, have unfortunately been meager, in comparison with our needs.

The two historical conventions held under the auspices of the Society during the year, at Madison in February, and at Green Bay in September, were successful in arousing a more active popular interest in the local and general history of Wisconsin, and in knowledge and appreciation of the work of the Society.

DEATH OF JUDGE PINNEY.

We have, in the death of Hon. Silas U. Pinney, lost within the year one of the oldest and most honored of our curators. Judge Pinney was born in Rockdale, Crawford county, Pennsylvania, March 3, 1833, and died at his home in Madison, April 1, 1899. His father, Justin C., removed to Pennsylvania from his native state of Massachusetts in 1815; his mother was a Pennsylvania-German, a native of Crawford county. The Pinney family removed to the town of Windsor, Dane county, Wisconsin, in 1846, and in this county Silas spent the remainder of his life. A farmer's lad, his early education was confined to the district school, but he added much to that curriculum by somewhat extensive reading. After himself teaching a district school for three years, he came to Madison in 1853, and became a law student in the office of Vilas & Remington, a year later being admitted to the bar. In 1858 he was city attorney of Madison, in 1865 an alderman, in 1869 an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for attorney general of the State, in 1874-75 mayor of Madison, in 1875 a member of the assembly, and January 2, 1892, was elected a justice of the State supreme court, a position which he held until his resignation on November 2, 1898. Judge Pinney was, in 1865, the editor of Vol. XVI. of the *Wisconsin Supreme Court Reports*, and in 1870 was appointed by the court as special reporter of the decisions of the Territorial supreme court and of the first five years of the State supreme court, the period of 1836-53—the resulting three volumes being known as *Pinney's Wisconsin Reports*. From the time of his earliest residence in Madison, he was much interested in the career of this Society, and served it faithfully as a curator from 1866 to the time of his death. Frequently present at our councils, his quick perception and logical mind were of great practical value to his colleagues, who sincerely mourn his taking away. Chief Justice Cassoday paid a just tribute to his quality as a citizen and a judge, when he said of our departed

friend: "He had great industry, and he possessed a remarkable memory for facts and details, as well as for legal principles. He was a conscientious man, in his work as well as in his relations with men. In addition to these worthy qualities Judge Pinney had honesty and independence. Under all circumstances he tried to do his duty, and was unswervingly faithful to his ideas of both professional and private responsibility."

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

General Fund.

The general fund consists of the annual State appropriation of \$5,000. Its condition is as follows:

Receipts.

Unexpended balance, from previous year	\$1 00
Annual State appropriation	5,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$5,001 00

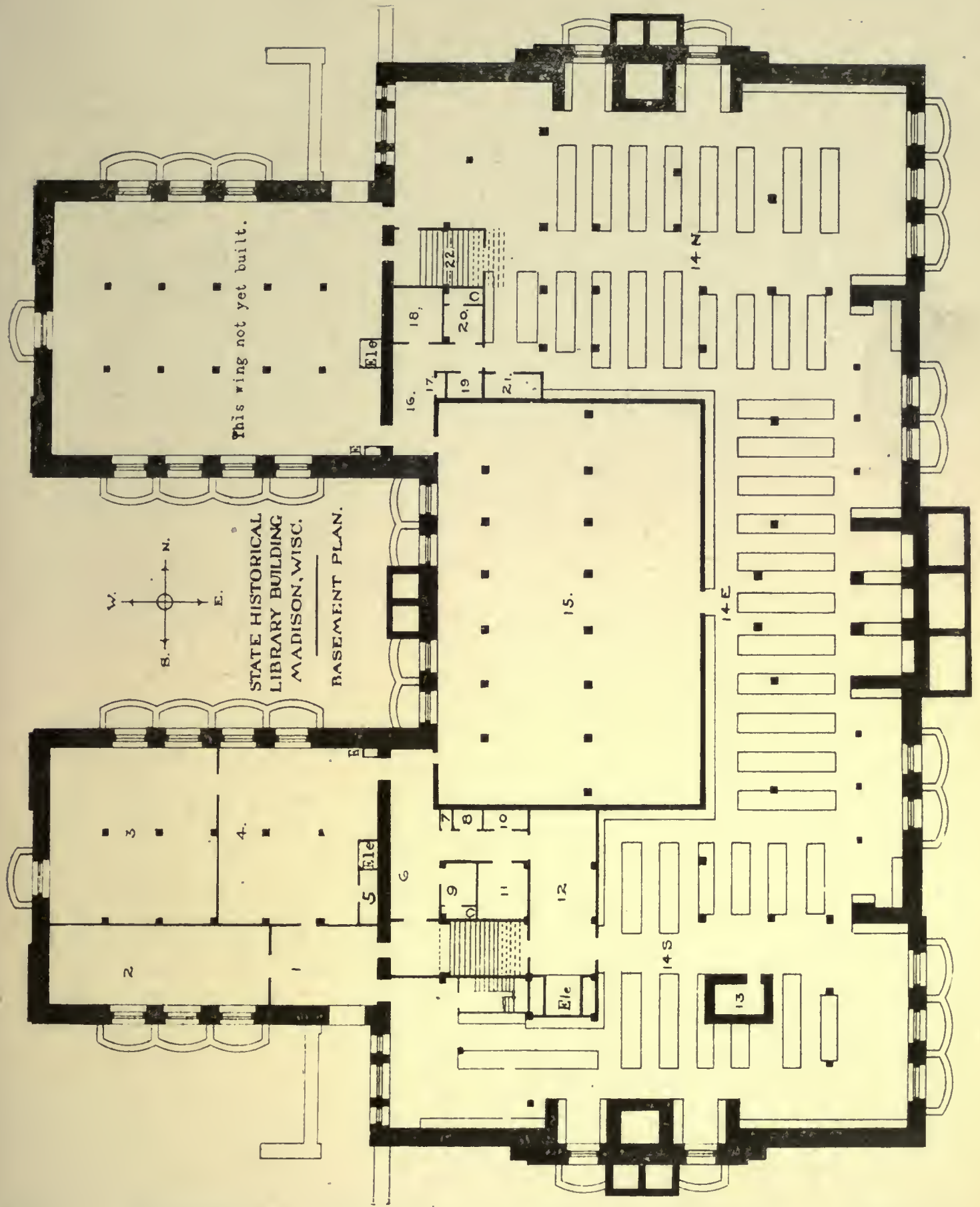
Disbursements.

(Analysis of expenditures, year ending November 30, 1899.)

Services	\$3,117 26
Books, maps, and periodicals	1,572 19
Pictures	1 50
Printing	42 75
Freight and drayage	87 46
Travel	125 66
Incidentals	18 64
	<hr/>
	\$4,966 40
Balance on hand	34 54
	<hr/>
	\$5,001 00

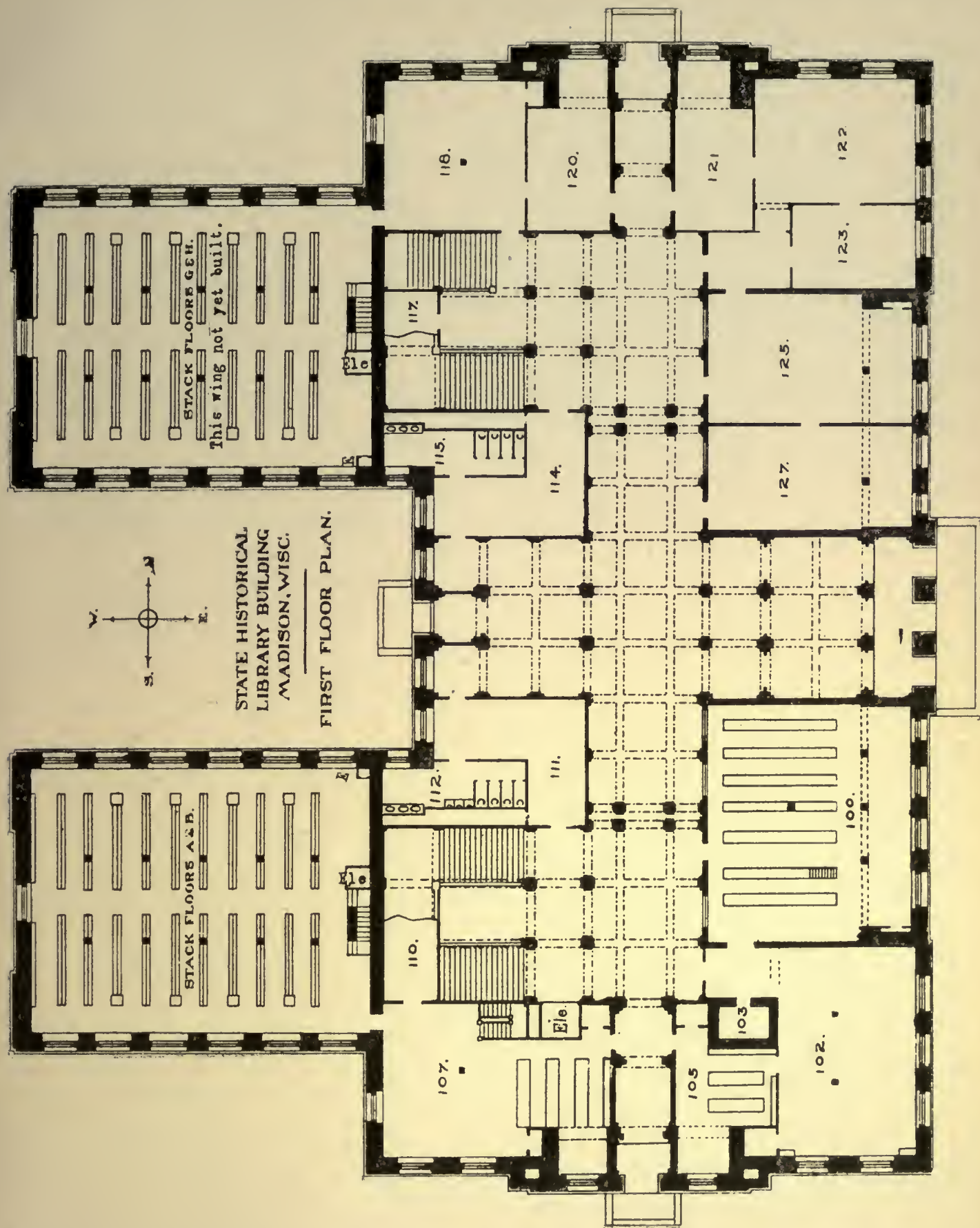
The report of the treasurer gives the details of the foregoing expenditures, and a statement thereof, with accompanying receipts, as approved by the finance committee, has been filed with the governor according to law (sec. 376, Wisconsin Statutes for 1898).

Upon moving into the new building, the annuity from the State will be \$15,000; out of this must come the Society's share



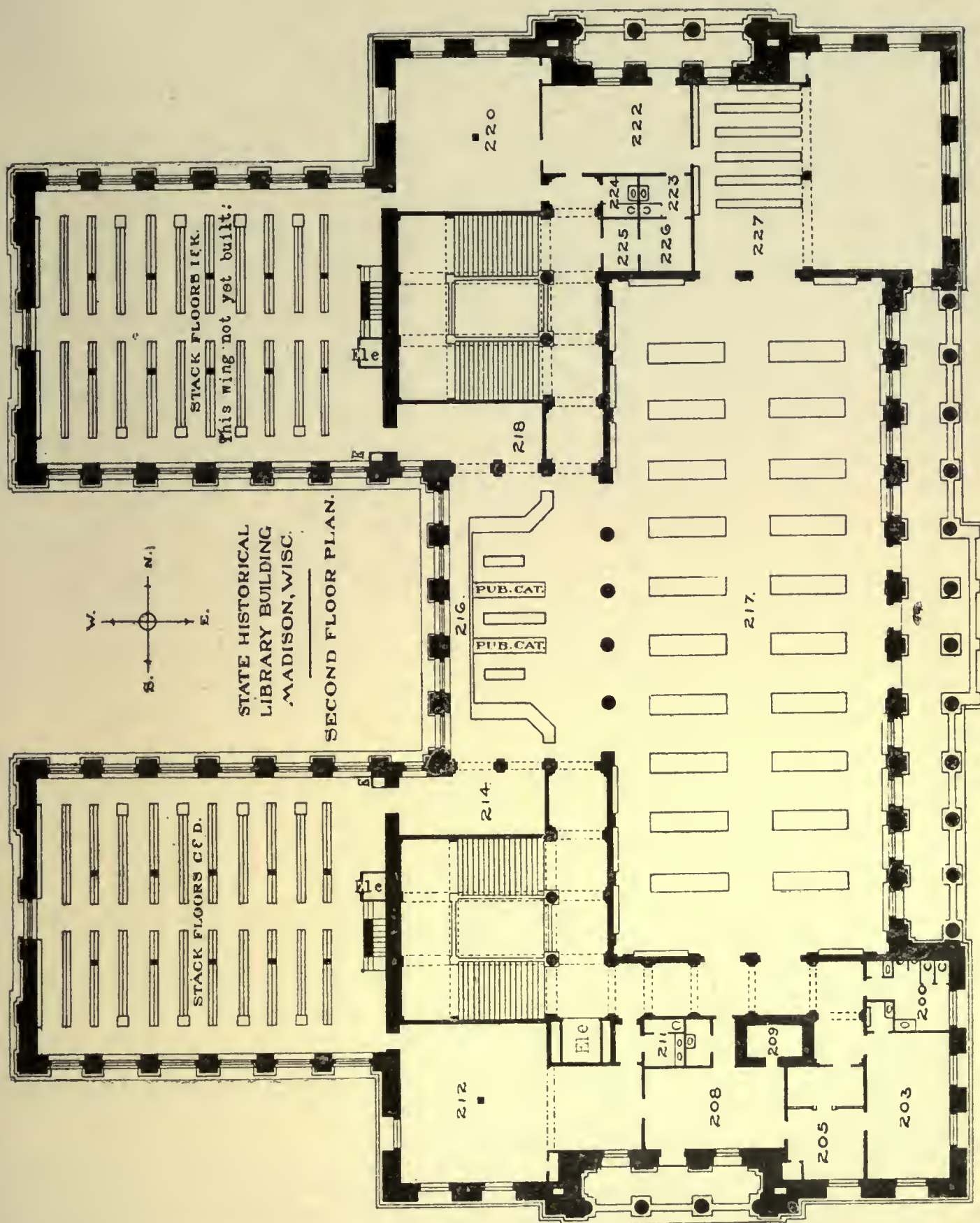
Room.	Description.	Dimensions.
1.	Vestibule . . .	15 x 20
2.	Bicycle room . . .	15 x 41
3.	Stock and storage room . . .	31 x 33
4.	Stock and packing room . . .	30 x 33
5.	Elevator machinery . . .	4 x 11
6.	Hall . . .	9 x 32
7.	Closet . . .	3 x 4
8.	Closet . . .	4 x 5
9.	Toilet . . .	7 x 10
10.	Closet . . .	4 x 9
11.	Boiler room . . .	10 x 11
12.	Elevator machinery . . .	11 x 32

Room.	Description.	Dimensions.
13.	Vault . . .	6 x 10
14.	Newspaper files . . .	50 x 76
15.	Heating apparatus . . .	9 x 20
16.	Hall . . .	3 x 4
17.	Closet . . .	9 x 11
18.	Closet . . .	4 x 5
19.	Toilet . . .	7 x 12
20.	Closet . . .	4 x 12
21.	Closet . . .	9 x 10
22.	Closet . . .	
Ele.	Elevator	
E.	Book lift	

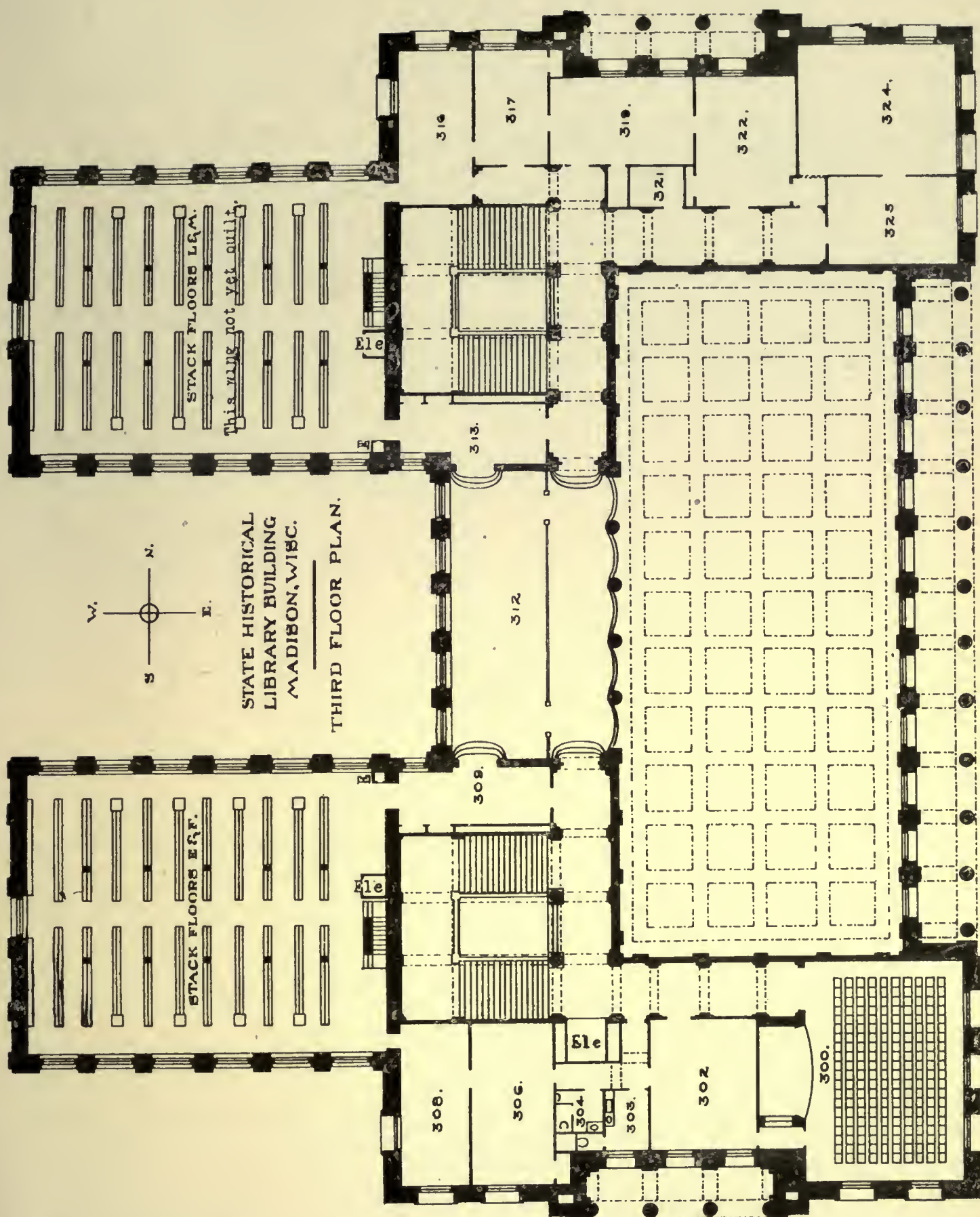


Room.	Description.	Dimensions,
100.	Patents and public documents	37 x 45
102.	Atlases, maps, and manuscripts	26 x 39
103.	Vault	6 x 10
105.	Current newspapers	18 x 24
107.	Newspaper consultation room	28 x 45
110.	Newspaper files	10 x 32
111.	Men's cloak room	10 x 40
112.	Toilet	9 x 28
114.	Women's cloak room	10 x 40

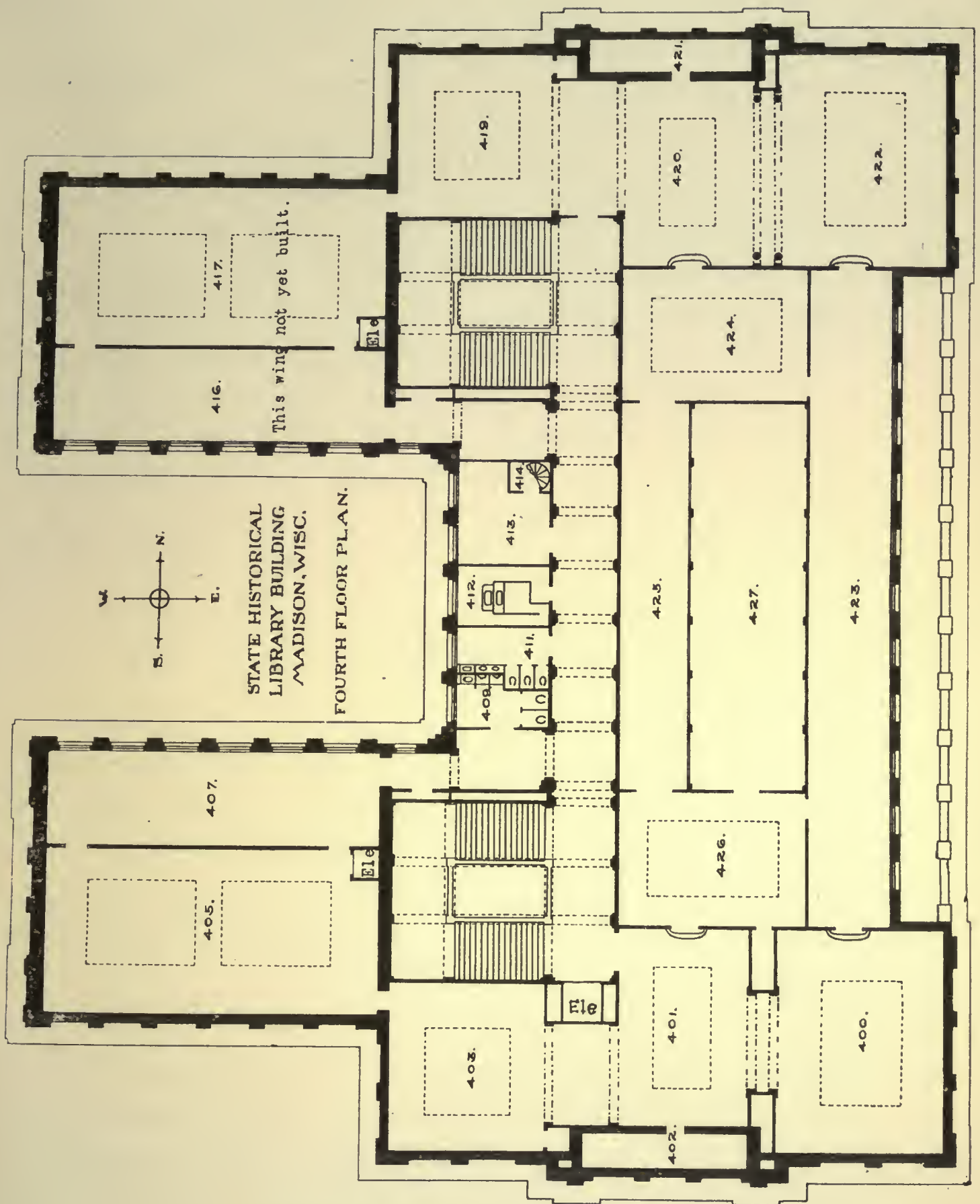
Room.	Description.	Dimensions,
115.	Toilet	9 x 28
117.	Janitor's store room	10 x 22
118.	Seminary	28 x 29
120.	Seminary	17 x 23
121.	Seminary	15 x 23
122.	Seminary	22 x 29
123.	Seminary	16 x 24
125.	Seminary	24 x 38
127.	Seminary	21 x 38
Ele.	Elevator	
E.	Book lift	



Room.	Description.	Dimensions.	Room.	Description.	Dimensions.
200.	Toilet	8 x 11	218.	Delivery room	10 x 27
203.	Secretary's office	15 x 26	220.	U. W. catalogue room	27 x 29
205.	Clerical office	14 x 20	222.	U. W. librarian's office	17 x 28
208.	Librarian's office	15 x 26	223.	Toilet	6 x 9
209.	Vault	6 x 10	224.	Toilet	5 x 5
210.	Closet	5 x 9	225.	Janitor's store room	6 x 9
211.	Toilet	7 x 9	226.	Store room	9 x 9
212.	Official catalogue room	29 x 44	227.	Periodical room	39 x 45
214.	Delivery room	10 x 27	Ele.	Elevator	
216.	Delivery room	28 x 50	E.	Book lift	
217.	General reading room	48 x 118			



Room.	Description.	Dimensions.	Room.	Description.	Dimensions.
300.	Lecture hall . . .	30 x 39	316.	Seminary . . .	16 x 29
302.	Study . . .	18 x 24	317.	Seminary . . .	13 x 23
303.	Toilet . . .	7 x 11	319.	Seminary . . .	17 x 24
304.	Toilet . . .	7 x 8	321.	Janitor's store room . . .	6 x 8
306.	Clerical office . . .	13 x 29	322.	Seminary . . .	17 x 23
308.	Secretary's study . . .	14 x 29	324.	Seminary . . .	22 x 29
309.	Study . . .	10 x 28	325.	Seminary . . .	16 x 24
311.	Visitor's balcony . . .	10 x 50	Ele.	Elevator	
312.	Art and genealogy . . .	18 x 50	E.	Book lift	
313.	Study . . .	10 x 28			



MUSEUM AND PORTRAIT GALLERY.

Room.	Description.	Dimensions.	Room.	Description.	Dimensions.
402.	Store room . . .	6 x 32	413.	Store room . . .	18 x 20
409.	Toilet	6 x 17	421.	Store room . . .	6 x 32
411.	Toilet	9 x 18	Ele.	Elevator	
412.	Dark room	6 x 8			

of the cost of maintenance of the building, and some other expenses now borne by the State because of our occupancy of rooms in the capitol.

The Binding Fund.

This fund, now consisting of \$28,821.23 in cash and securities, is the product of special gifts, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and the interest on loans. The net increase during the year was \$529.69, of which \$87.66 was received as the residue of the legacy of the late Stephen Taylor, of Philadelphia, concerning which reference was made in our report for 1898.

The binding fund is now doing admirable work, in eking out the bounty of the State.

The Antiquarian Fund.

This is the product of interest on loans, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and special gifts. The treasurer's report shows its present condition to be as follows, a net gain during the year of \$317:

Cash and securities in hands of treasurer	\$3,625 69
Note given for the fund, as yet unpaid	20 00
	<hr/>
Total	\$3,645 69

The income of this fund, when it assumes larger proportions than at present, is to be expended in "prosecuting historical investigations, and procuring desirable objects of historic or ethnological interest." Primarily it will, no doubt, be used in building up the museum, which is still disproportionately meagre. When removed to the new building, we may rest assured that gifts of many kinds will soon be forthcoming—such is the experience of all similar institutions upon moving into larger and better quarters; but we shall all the more need money of our own to fill the gaps, and assure steady progress in the principal lines

of collection. Had the removal occurred during 1899, the committee would have taken advantage of the resultant growth of interest in our work, to push the claims of this fund; this must apparently now be left until or after the dedication.

The Draper Fund.

From the treasurer's report, it will be seen that there is now in this fund the sum of \$360.90. No portion of the income of the fund has been expended during the year, as the work of indexing the Draper MSS. is too great and intricate a task to attempt without a fund sufficient for the employment of highly skilled labor.

LIBRARY ACCESSIONS.

Following is a summary of library accessions during the year ending November 30, 1899:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	1,157
Books by gift	2,405
	<hr/>
Total books	3,562
Pamphlets, by gift	4,088
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings, etc., worthy of preservation	77
	<hr/>
Total pamphlets	4,165
	<hr/>
Total accessions	7,727

Present (estimated) strength of the library:

Books	105,283
Pamphlets	101,340
	<hr/>
Total	206,623

The year's book accessions are classified as follows:

Cyclopædias	14
Newspapers and periodicals	1,027
Philosophy and religion	143
Biography and genealogy	92
History—General	35
History—Foreign	144
History—American	135
History—Local (U. S.)	228
Antiquities	5
Geography and travel	187
Political and social science	310
Legislation	601
Natural science	77
Useful arts	90
British Patent Office reports	328
Fine arts	16
Language and literature	89
Bibliography	41
<hr/>	
Total	3,562

The following comparative statistics of gifts and purchases are suggestive:

Total accessions (books and pamphlets)	7,727
Percentage of gifts, in accessions	85
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges), in accessions	15
Actual total of gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	8,717
Books given	3,021
Pamphlets given	5,696
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	24
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	76

It is perhaps needless to repeat that every gift is welcomed at the library, whether it is or is not a duplicate; our duplicates are utilized in exchange with other large libraries in the United States and Canada. Among our most important exchanges of duplicate books and pamphlets during the past year, have been those with the public libraries of New York and Boston, the State libraries of Ohio and Michigan, the Enoch Pratt Free Library

of Baltimore, the Drew Theological Seminary of Madison, N. J., the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, the Northern Indiana Historical Society, Oberlin College, and the University of Nebraska.

WORK IN THE LIBRARY.

Classification.

Despite our limited resources, it was necessary, as a preparation for occupying our new building, to classify and shelf-list all save a few departments of the library. This work has been in active progress during the past two years, occupying the entire time of two members of the staff, and is almost completed for those portions of the library which it is now designed to so treat. In connection with the task, it has been essential to mark the corresponding cards in the official catalogue, which has employed one cataloguer much of the time, and often required the services of two persons, in addition to the classifiers. The latter, soon to be relieved from the classification, will assist in marking the cards, a work which has not kept pace with the other branch of the undertaking.

Binding.

An unusual quantity of binding has been done within the year, a work incident to the thorough overhauling which the library has been receiving during the past two years. Of books and periodicals, there have been bound 2,028 volumes, of newspapers 780 volumes, and of British Patent Office Reports 297 volumes—a total of 3,105. The preparation of these for the binder has of course been a task of no small proportions.

Gaps and Sequents.

In a library specializing, as ours does, in the lines of history, economics, and social and political science, the numerous documents issued by national, state, and city governments, public institutions, and societies, are of great importance, as furnishing

material for independent investigation. But to secure these in proper sequence, and fill the gaps in broken sets, involves much labor, which to be of value must be expert. For nearly two years past, the library has, with admirable results, devoted the greater part of the time of one assistant to this single department, and will hereafter continue this policy, broadening its scope of accumulation as necessity and opportunity present.

Traveling Library No. 1.

Particularly during the last few months, the Society has received frequent requests to offer suggestions to women's study clubs throughout the State, as to methods to be pursued in the study of Wisconsin history, and asking for the loan of helpful books in this field. Much, however, as we desire to assist in this work, we have been seriously hampered by the fact that few of the local free public libraries have any material on the subject, and find it difficult to obtain much. All of the first nine volumes of our own *Collections* are now excessively rare, and for some years past we have been unable to supply them; while many of the other sources of information exist only upon our shelves, and cannot properly be lent.

By strenuous effort during November of the present year, we succeeded in acquiring duplicates sufficient to equip a traveling library upon Wisconsin history. It contains the following books, some of them of great rarity, and has been loaned for three months to the woman's club at Sparta, the first applicant:

Draper and Thwaites (editors) — Wisconsin Historical Collections, 14 vols. The State, 1855-98. (See Bulletin No. 11 for classified list of articles in the *Collections* and *Proceedings* of the Society.)

Carr — The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley Historically Considered. Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, 1883.

Heberd — Wisconsin under French Dominion. Midland Publishing Co., Madison, 1890.

Davidson — In Unnamed Wisconsin — 1634-1836. S. Chapman, Milwaukee, 1895.

Strong — History of Wisconsin Territory. The State, 1885.

Legler — Leading Events in Wisconsin History. Sentinel Company, Milwaukee, 1898.

Smith—History of Wisconsin, vols. i and iii (all published). The State, 1854.

Thwaites—The Story of Wisconsin. D. Lothrop Co., Boston, 1891—new ed., 1899.

Tuttle—An Illustrated History of the State of Wisconsin. Russell, Boston, 1875.

Stearns (editor)—The Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin. State Committee on Educational Exhibit for Wisconsin, 1893.

Wisconsin Blue Book, 1899—for historical articles: "The Evolution of Wisconsin," pp. 115, 116; "An Outline History of Wisconsin," pp. 117-129; and "Historical Outline of the Admission of Wisconsin to the Union," pp. 17-20.

Tenney and Atwood—Memorial Record of the Fathers of Wisconsin. David Atwood, Madison, 1880.

Neville and Martin—Historic Green Bay, 1634-1840. The Authors, Green Bay, 1893.

It is to be hoped that this little library may be but the precursor of others, upon selected topics in American history, to be sent out by the Society, whenever means will permit, as a feature of its missionary work among the people.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

The New Building.

About one-third of the time of both the secretary and the librarian has, during the year, been spent in work connected with the new building, especially in the matter of devising furniture and appliances. Almost the entire month of May and the first week in June were spent, in behalf of the board of building commissioners, in visiting large Eastern libraries, galleries, and museums, for the purpose of inspecting the latest and best furniture and appliances, with a view to their introduction into our new building; they were accompanied, about half of the time, by A. C. Clas, of Ferry & Clas, the architects of the board. The party visited, and through the secretary reported in detail, upon the following institutions:

Washington, D. C.—Library of Congress, Library of War Department, Corcoran Art Gallery.

Philadelphia.—Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library of Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania, Drexel Institute Library, Law Library, Free Library.

Princeton, N. J.—University Library.

New York City.—Columbia University Library, Lenox Library, Library of Association of the Bar, Mercantile Library, Astor Library, Society Library, Aguilar Libraries (two), Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts.

Brooklyn.—Pratt Institute Library.

Newark, N. J.—Public Library.

Southport, Conn.—Public Library.

New Haven, Conn.—Yale University Library.

Providence, R. I.—Public Library, Brown University Library, R. I. Historical Society Library.

Boston.—Athenæum, State Library, Public Library, Museum of Fine Arts.

Cambridge, Mass.—Harvard College Library, Fogg Museum of Art.

Albany, N. Y.—State Library.

Buffalo, N. Y.—Public Library.

Pittsburg, Penn.—Carnegie Free Library.

Allegheny, Penn.—Carnegie Free Library.

Association Meetings.

During the closing week of December, 1898, the secretary represented the Society at the fourteenth annual convention of the American Historical Association, held in New Haven, Conn. The Association is broadening and strengthening the study of history throughout the United States, and it is important for many reasons that our Society be annually represented at its meetings.

From May 8th to 14th, the American Library Association met at Atlanta, our representatives being the secretary, librarian, and assistant librarian. This Association is of the utmost importance in advancing the interests of the library profession throughout the United States and Canada, and a large share of the notable library development of the past decade is directly attributable to its invigorating influence. To be annually represented at its conference by our active workers, is a duty incumbent upon us.

The Wisconsin Library Association, of which our assistant librarian is secretary, held its annual convention this year, at Mad-

ison, August 24th to 26th inclusive. Several members of our staff participated in the programme, and were active in preparations for the meeting, which was largely attended from all portions of the State.

State Field Work.

In addition to his rapidly-increasing administrative duties, the secretary has, in the interests of the Society, visited within the year, various sections of the State; sometimes to address public meetings or consult with citizens in behalf of free library development, in the organization of historical societies, in collecting manuscripts and other material either for the archives or for the published *Collections*, or in the general interests of historical study.

STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTIONS.

The year was marked by a new departure in the Society's work, the holding of two State historical conventions—the first in Madison, the 22d and 23d of February; the second in Green Bay, the 5th, 6th and 7th of September.

The Madison convention, presided over by President Johnston, was held in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society's foundation, and proved eminently successful. An account of the meeting, with the full text of the papers read thereat, was published in connection with the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1898, pp. 91–230.

The Green Bay conference, over which Vice President Wight presided, was of peculiar interest. The programme was devoted exclusively to the history of the Fox River valley, all of the papers being worthy of the occasion. In connection with the meeting, the local committee gave a large and exceedingly valuable exhibition of historical relics; one of the features of which was the famous Perrot ostensorium, presented to the Jesuit mission at De Pere in 1686, which was loaned by this Society. Historical pilgrimages were taken by steamer to the old home of

Eleazar Williams, "the Dauphin," at Little Chute, and to Red Banks, on the eastern shore of Green Bay. But the most interesting incident of all, was the unveiling by the Society of a monument erected by the citizens of De Pere near the site of the old Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier; this consists of a limestone base, surmounted by a large granite boulder bearing a beautiful bronze tablet (2 by 3 ft.). The secretary formally accepted this monument which the citizens presented to the Society, and an historical address by Bishop Messmer, one of our members, followed. The attendance throughout, both local and outside, quite exceeded the expectations of the management; and the result was greatly to stimulate the study of Wisconsin history, throughout northeastern Wisconsin, and to strengthen the hands of the Society. The papers presented at the convention will be published in connection with the *Proceedings* for 1899. To the various local committees, whose members assisted in the toilsome work of preparation, the sincere thanks of this Society are certainly due.

So marked was the success of this gathering—the first meeting ever held by the Society outside of Madison;—that the committee feel justified in repeating the experiment as often as may seem judicious. Informal invitations have already been received from about ten cities throughout the State, so that there need be no doubt of our receiving a hearty welcome, wherever it may be decided to hold the next convention. As to whether it will prove wise to hold this in a year in which a political campaign is sure to absorb the interest of the people, remains to be considered; possibly the solution would be, to conduct field meetings each alternate year, thus avoiding the biennial campaigns.

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS.

The unveiling of the historical monument at De Pere, marking as nearly as may be the site of one of the oldest shrines in Wisconsin history, was in itself an event of no slight importance, being the first memorial of this character as yet erected within

the State. It should, however, not long remain as the only one. At the several historical points where the Society may hold future conventions, measures will no doubt be taken in connection with the meetings to dedicate other tablets. But meanwhile, efforts should be made to induce other localities to stimulate popular interest in local history, by erecting tablets or monuments upon sites prominently and undeniably associated with their annals. In all the old historic centers of the State, there will as yet be found small difficulty in location; but it should be remembered that in a few years more, traditions of the earliest settlers will be obscured and the difficulty of identification greatly increased. The Society should do all in its power to encourage local efforts in permanently marking interesting localities.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Despite the provisions of chapter 118, Laws of 1897, revised in chapter 24, Statutes of 1898 (secs. 376a, 376b, 376c, 376d, and 376e), up to the time of the Green Bay convention no local historical or pioneer society within the State had formally allied itself with the State society as an auxiliary.

As an outcome of the convention, a meeting of interested citizens of Brown county was held in Green Bay, October 2, 1899, and addressed by the secretary. It was voted to organize the Green Bay Historical Society, and the organization was completed on the 21st of the month. The preliminary report of this the first local association to affiliate itself with the State society, will be published in connection with the *Proceedings* for 1899. The Green Bay society gives every evidence of having within it the elements of success.

Upon the 8th of November, the Ripon Historical Society, another promising organization, was incorporated pursuant to law, and became the second auxiliary of the parent Society. Its initial proceedings will also appear in connection with those of this Society for the current year.

Other local societies within the State, would be cordially welcomed to our ranks.

PUBLICATIONS.

Requests for our publications are constantly on the increase, thus testifying to the steady growth of historic consciousness in this State. The first nine volumes of Wisconsin Historical Collections can no longer be supplied. The people of the State would, we think, welcome a legislative appropriation for their reprinting, in order that Wisconsin schools and teachers, especially, might be supplied with these materials for the original study of the history of the commonwealth. The Society, however, in view of its appeals to the legislature, of recent years, for substantial aid in other directions, does not at present feel warranted in asking this additional favor; it has been hoping that the teachers themselves would organize a movement therefor.

Of Bulletins of Information, the following have been issued within the year:

9.—How local history material is preserved in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Issued August, 1899.

10.—Suggestive outlines for the study of Wisconsin history.—Issued November, 1899.

11.—A selected list of printed material relating to the history of Wisconsin. (Revised reprint of part of Bulletin No. 4.)—Issued December, 1899.

12.—Suggestions to local historians, in Wisconsin. (Revised reprint of part of Bulletin No. 4.)—Issued December, 1899.

The popular demand for these bulletins is gratifyingly large, convincing us that in their publication we are meeting a genuine need.

LEGISLATION.

At the historical convention, held in Madison in June, 1898, in connection with the semi-centennial anniversary celebration, a resolution was adopted, asking the legislature to authorize the publication in a memorial volume, of the proceedings of and addresses delivered at the several exercises. The following committee was appointed by President Johnston, who presided at

the convention, to seek the required legislation: William F. Vilas, chairman, Frank W. Oakley, Reuben G. Thwaites, Horace A. Taylor, George B. Burrows, Elisha W. Keyes, and Frederick J. Turner. The secretary of the Society spent much time in collecting the addresses, some of which were secured by stenographic assistants; but, although an earnest attempt was made in behalf of the project, the legislature of 1899 declined to take action, and the matter was thereupon dropped. The MS. is still in the possession of the secretary, and it is hoped that means may yet be found to secure its publication, as many of the addresses were carefully prepared from an historical standpoint, and are well worthy of preservation.

By chapter 204, Laws of 1899, the legislature appropriated \$1,000 to meet the expense of the removal of the Society's library, museum, and gallery to the new building.

In 1895 and 1897, the legislature appropriated for our new building, a tenth-of-a-mill tax levy (\$60,000 annually) for seven years (1897-1903 inclusive), thus aggregating \$420,000. At the time of the session of 1899, the levies for 1897 and 1898 (\$120,000 in all) had already been collected and paid. The legislature of 1899, in chapter 296, of the laws of that year, repealed the tax levies for the remaining five years (1899 to 1903 inclusive, aggregating \$300,000), substituting for them cash payments, as was also done at the same session with the University and Normal Schools. To this sum was added \$200,000 (the commissioners asked for \$290,000), this increase being distributed throughout the five years (\$40,000 per year). The now unconstructed northwest wing, which the commissioners desired to erect, was omitted.

The cost of the building (except the northwest wing, not now to be built), with complete equipment and furnishing, will be \$620,000, of which about \$60,000 will probably be returned to the State treasury as interest. The new Milwaukee Public Library and Museum building, by the same architects, cost \$665,000.

MUSEUM AND GALLERY.

These important departments of the work of the Society continue to arouse much public interest, but their growth is seriously hampered by lack of means. Upon removal to our new quarters, where ample room and bettered conditions are assured, it seems reasonable to hope that there will be an increase in gifts and in the loan of special collections, and that the antiquarian fund, upon which the museum must largely depend, will be increased through the united efforts of our members.

During the legislative session of 1899, two very interesting loan exhibits were held in the gallery. The first, lasting from January 30th to February 24th, inclusive, was conducted by the art department of Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and consisted of about one hundred oils and black-and-white drawings by Howard Pyle, and several other American artists of high repute, being the original pictures made to illustrate Henry Cabot Lodge's *Story of the Revolution*, and Capt. A. T. Mahan's *War of 1812*. Immediately upon the removal of this exhibit, its place was taken by another, under the auspices of *The Chicago Record* and *The Chicago Daily News*; this remained from February 25th to March 4th, inclusive, and consisted of drawings illustrating the Spanish-American War, made by John T. McCutcheon, William Schmedtgen, and Walter Marshall Clute. In connection with these was a large display of relics of the war, embracing chiefly Spanish uniforms, flags, and accoutrements. Both exhibits were of a high order of merit, and, according to the terms of our agreement with the exhibitors, wholly free of advertising features. They attracted widespread attention on the part of pupils in the public schools as well as adult visitors to the capitol, and legislators, and did much to popularize the institution during the session.

THE NEW BUILDING.

Upon the first of February, 1899, the board of building commissioners submitted to the legislature a detailed report, giving an account of their stewardship up to that time, and asking for \$290,000 for the completion and equipment of the entire building as planned. This report was published by order of the legislature. The outcome of the winter's agitation was, as previously stated, the cutting-down of the increase to \$200,000, and the omission of the northwest wing. This made a total appropriation of \$620,000; but of this amount a sum estimated at \$60,000 will ultimately be returned to the State as interest on moneys advanced from the trust funds to hasten the completion. The interest charge has been increased beyond the expectations of the commissioners, through their failure to obtain from the State treasury the \$100,000 in cash, during 1899, the payment of which the legislature had authorized, but for which there had not been ordered a specific tax levy. There seems no reason to doubt that the building, with the exception of the wing mentioned, will be finished and amply furnished and equipped within the appropriation; but to accomplish this result, the greatest economy has been exercised throughout, to balance the increased interest charge.

On the 23d of August, bids were opened for the stone carving, book stacks, electric fixtures, and passenger elevator plant. These were let as follows: carving, to Joseph Dux, Chicago, for \$11,495; stacks, to Art Metal Construction Co., Jamestown, N. Y., \$42,218.50; electric fixtures, to George H. Wheelock & Co., South Bend, Ind., for \$15,000; and passenger elevator to Otis Elevator Co., Chicago, \$6,500. The book stacks are of the "Fenton" pattern, composed wholly of steel, and undoubtedly the best in the market. The electric fixtures will be made by The Oxley & Enos Manufacturing Co., of New York, the same factory that supplied those for the Milwaukee Library and Museum; the designs have been especially made for our building,

and promise to be of a beauty and quality commensurate with the character of the structure. All of these contracts, save for stone carving, must be executed by the 15th of February, 1900, to which date the Johnson contract (for construction) has also been extended by the commissioners. Bids for furniture, newspaper stacks, and granolithic pavements will be opened upon the 8th of February next.

There is every prospect that the Society will be able to move to its new quarters in July next. Doubtless some portions of the building will still be unfinished at that time; but it is important that we go thither as early as possible, even at some inconvenience to ourselves, for it is necessary that our present quarters in the capitol be remodeled for use as committee rooms by the next legislature; and, as speedily as may be, we should remove our collections from the manifold dangers of fire and collapse.

The removal will, it is hoped, be signalized by ceremonies worthy of this Society, of the State in whose service it is enlisted and of which it is the trustee, and of the beauty and dignity of the structure which is henceforth to be our home.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

REUBEN G. THWAITES,
Secretary and Superintendent.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.

To the Honorable Executive Committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Your committee on finance have to report up to the close of the fiscal year, December 1st, inst., that they have examined the report of the treasurer, his books, and all vouchers pertaining to his receipts and expenditures, and find the same correct as by that officer reported, to-wit:

Mortgage loans on hand	\$28,725 00
(An increase of \$2,975.00.)	
The Draper homestead (unchanged)	2,378 14
The St. Paul lot (on foreclosure; unchanged)	580 54
154.30 acres of Jackson county land (unchanged)	1,207 39
Cash in treasurer's hands	127 91
	<hr/>
A total of	\$33,018 98

Which has been apportioned as follows:

To the Binding Fund	\$28,821 23
To the Antiquarian Fund	3,625 69
To the Binding Fund income	176 62
To the Draper Fund	360 90
To the General Fund	34 54
	<hr/>
Total	\$33,018 98

Respectfully submitted,

N. B. VAN SLYKE
 GEO. B. BURROWS
 W. A. P. MORRIS
 J. H. PALMER

December 14, 1899.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Report of the treasurer for the fiscal year ending November 30th, 1899:

*General Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$1 00
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1899

Feb. 6.	To received from state treasurer	.	.	\$2,000 00	
Apr. 22.	To received from state treasurer	.	.	3,000 00	5,000 00
				<hr/>	<hr/>
					\$5,001 00

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30.	By expenditures during year by direc-		
	tion of secretary, as per voucher	.	\$4,966 46
	By balance on hand	.	34 54
			<hr/>
			\$5,001 00
			<hr/> <hr/>

1899

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$34 54
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*Draper Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$167 15
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1899

Jan. 28.	To duplicates sold from library	.	.	193 75	
				<hr/>	\$360 90

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30.	By balance	\$360 90
							<hr/>
							\$360 90
							<hr/> <hr/>

1899

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$360 90
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*Binding Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898

Dec. 1. To balance \$28,291 54

1899

July 6. To received from estate of S. Taylor,
deceased, balance of legacy with in-
terest \$87 66

Nov. 30. To transfer from binding fund income
account 442 03 529 69

\$28,821 23

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30. By balance \$28,821 23

\$28,821 23

1899

Dec. 1. To balance \$28,821 23

*Antiquarian Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898

Dec. 1. To balance \$3,308 69

1899

July 6. To donation from E. E. Bryant . . . \$10 00

Nov. 30. To transfer from antiquarian fund in-
come account 307 00 317 00

\$3,625 69

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30. By balance \$3,625 69

\$3,625 69

1899

Dec. 1. To balance \$3,625 69

*Binding Fund Income Account.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898

Dec. 1. To unexpended balance of appropriation, 1898 . \$30 96

1899

Nov. 30.	To received from rent of Draper home-		
	stead	\$303 50	
	To one-half annual dues	103 00	
	To one-half sale of duplicates	11 75	
	To one-half life membership fees	60 00	
	To interest apportionment	1,234 45	1,712 70
			<hr/>
			\$1,743 66

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30.	By expenditures during year under di-		
	rection of secretary, as per vouchers		
	(account annual appropriation)	\$854 34	
	By tax, 1898, "Schoonmaker" lot in St.		
	Paul	8 14	
	By miscellaneous expenditures as per		
	vouchers	262 53	
	By transferred to binding fund	442 03	
	By balance (unexpended from annual		
	appropriation)	176 62	
			<hr/>
			\$1,743 66

1899

Dec. 1. To balance \$176 62

*Antiquarian Fund Income Account.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1899

Nov. 30.	To one-half annual dues	\$103 00	
	To one-half sales of duplicates	11 75	
	To one-half life membership fees	60 00	
	To interest apportionment	132 25	
			<hr/>
			\$307 00

The Treasurer, Cr.

1899

Nov. 30.	By transfer to antiquarian fund	\$307 00	
			<hr/>
			\$307 00

Inventory, December 1, 1899.

Mortgage loans	\$28,725 00
Real estate.	4,166 07
Cash on hand	127 91
	<hr/>
	\$33,018 98
<i>Apportioned as follows:</i>	
Binding fund	\$28,821 23
Antiquarian fund	3,625 69
Draper fund	360 90
General fund	34 54
Binding fund income	176 62
	<hr/>
	<u>\$33,018 98</u>

Respectfully submitted,

F. F. PROUDFIT,
Treasurer

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FROM STATE APPROPRIATION.

Treasurer's statement of expenditures from the general fund (State appropriation for 1898) of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1899, as audited by the Finance Committee, December 14, 1899, and approved by the Executive Committee, December 14, 1899.

Receipts..

1898

Dec. 1. Unexpended balance on hand	\$1 00
Received from state treasurer, during year	5,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$5,001 00
Disbursements, as below	4,966 46
	<hr/>

1899

Dec. 1. Unexpended balance, on hand	\$34 54
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Disbursements.

1898

Dec. 14. Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, N. Y., books	\$58 10
Dec. 14. H. C. Cooper, Jr., Chicago, books	25 00
Dec. 14. Evening Post, N. Y., papers	1 40
Dec. 14. Henry C. Gerling, Madison, drayage	5 25
Dec. 14. W. W. Hixson, Rockford, Ill., books	2 00
Dec. 14. Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, Baltimore, books	1 79

TREASURER'S REPORT.

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Dec. 14.	O. G. Libby, Madison, books	1 30
Dec. 14.	Crawford Lindsay, Quebec, services	99 64
Dec. 14.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	20 00
Dec. 14.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	12 32
Dec. 14.	Prince Society, Boston, books	8 00
Dec. 14.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	120 23
Dec. 14.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	13 75
Dec. 14.	Southern Hist. Ass'n, Washington, D. C., pubs.	3 00
Dec. 14.	S. C. Stuntz, Madison, services	7 20
Dec. 14.	T. M. Thorpe, N. Y., books	16 00
Dec. 21.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Dec. 21.	E. H. Blair, Madison, services	154 17
Dec. 21.	Mary S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Dec. 21.	Blanch Harper, Madison, pictures	1 50
Dec. 21.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Dec. 21.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 68
Dec. 21.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Dec. 21.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Dec. 21.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
Dec. 22.	W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	292 98

1899

Jan. 11.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	14 31
Jan. 11.	Democrat Printing Co., Madison, book	1 90
Jan. 11.	Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, Germany, books	75
Jan. 11.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	6 52
Jan. 11.	Dana C. Munro, Philadelphia, book	1 00
Jan. 11.	Preston & Rounds, Providence, R. I., book	2 50
Jan. 11.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., book	1 86
Jan. 11.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. and supt., traveling expenses	79 65
Jan. 25.	American Library Ass'n, Salem, Mass., pubs.	4 00
Jan. 25.	F. W. Arthur, Madison, services	6 00
Jan. 25.	H. C. Bell, Madison, book	2 00
Jan. 25.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book	7 48
Jan. 25.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, freight	9 25
Jan. 25.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	31 34
Jan. 25.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	10 40
Jan. 25.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	4 94
Jan. 25.	W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals	3 45
Jan. 25.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Jan. 25.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Jan. 25.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Jan. 25.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Jan. 25.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Jan. 25.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
Jan. 25.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66

Feb. 23.	H. M. Burt, Springfield, Mass., book	. . .	5 00
Feb. 23.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	. . .	9 44
Feb. 23.	George F. Cram, Chicago, book	. . .	13 50
Feb. 23.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, book	. . .	6 00
Feb. 23.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	. . .	34 28
Feb. 23.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	. . .	6 26
Feb. 23.	A. H. Main & Son, Madison, incidentals	. . .	10 00
Feb. 23.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., book	. . .	2 25
Feb. 23.	Publishers' Weekly, N. Y., book	. . .	2 00
Feb. 23.	Gustav E. Stechert, N. Y., books	. . .	6 84
Feb. 23.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Feb. 23.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Feb. 23.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Feb. 23.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	. . .	45 00
Feb. 23.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	. . .	30 00
Feb. 23.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	. . .	25 00
Feb. 23.	A. A. Nunns, Madison services	. . .	16 66
Feb. 23.	American Statistical Ass'n, Boston, pub.	. . .	2 00
Feb. 23.	George B. Adams, New Haven, Conn., services	. . .	100 00
Feb. 23.	M. W. McAlarney, Harrisburg, Pa., book	. . .	5 00
Feb. 23.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage	. . .	3 75
Mar. 29.	Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, N. Y., books	. . .	13 85
Mar. 29.	Leonard W. Gay, Madison, book	. . .	6 00
Mar. 29.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book	. . .	2 82
Mar. 29.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book	. . .	2 25
Mar. 29.	MacLean's Trade Newspapers, Toronto, Can., period.	. . .	2 00
Mar. 29.	Book Shop, Chicago, book	. . .	5 00
Mar. 29.	Publishers' Weekly, N. Y., book	. . .	3 50
Mar. 29.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	. . .	5 05
Mar. 29.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	. . .	333 11
Mar. 29.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	. . .	3 33
Mar. 29.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	. . .	24 39
Mar. 29.	Southern Historical Society, Richmond, Va., book	. . .	3 00
Mar. 29.	University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, book	. . .	1 12
Mar. 29.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Mar. 29.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Mar. 29.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	. . .	50 00
Mar. 29.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	. . .	45 00
Mar. 29.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	. . .	30 00
Mar. 29.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	. . .	25 00
Mar. 29.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	. . .	16 68
Apr. 26.	Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, N. Y., book	. . .	9 85
Apr. 26.	Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books	. . .	10 00
Apr. 26.	Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, Baltimore, books	. . .	4 60
Apr. 26.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	. . .	2 75

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Apr. 26.	Dana C. Munro, Philadelphia, book	2 00
Apr. 26.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London Eng., books	13 00
Apr. 26.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Apr. 26.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Apr. 26.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Apr. 26.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Apr. 26.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Apr. 26.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
Apr. 26.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66
May 5.	Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, N. Y., book	1 85
May 5.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	2 64
May 5.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book	7 48
May 5.	Michigan State Librarian, Lansing, books	3 00
May 5.	Lewis B. Walker, Pottsville, Pa., book	3 00
May 5.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books	8 00
May 5.	K. W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, Germany, book	2 70
Jun. 8.	D. Appleton & Co., Chicago, book	6 00
Jun. 8.	Arch. Institute of America, Madison, pubs.	10 00
Jun. 8.	Frederic W. Bailey, New Haven, Conn., book	1 50
Jun. 8.	Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, book	1 23
Jun. 8.	John W. Congdon, Toronto, Canada, book	3 60
Jun. 8.	John W. Cooley, Oswego, N. Y., book	6 00
Jun. 8.	Courier-Journal Ptg. Co., Louisville, Ky., book	1 84
Jun. 8.	John D. Cremer, Washington, D. C., book	5 00
Jun. 8.	H. N. & E. G. Dunn, Chicago, book	4 00
Jun. 8.	Richard Irby, Ashland, Va., book	1 50
Jun. 8.	Howard M. Jenkins, Philadelphia, book	3 50
Jun. 8.	William E. Jones, Richmond, Va., book	3 00
Jun. 8.	Keating & Barnard Pub. Co., Ft. Edward, N. Y., book	2 00
Jun. 8.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books	28 78
Jun. 8.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book	3 92
Jun. 8.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book	4 50
Jun. 8.	John J. McVey, Philadelphia, book	2 00
Jun. 8.	Hu Maxwell, Philippi, West Va., book	4 00
Jun. 8.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., book	4 50
Jun. 8.	Penn. Society Sons of Rev., Philadelphia, book	3 00
Jun. 8.	John Reinoehl, Lebanon, Pa., book	1 00
Jun. 8.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books	14 95
Jun. 8.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	13 79
Jun. 8.	Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, N. Y., book	2 00
Jun. 8.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 8.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 8.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 8.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Jun. 8.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00

Jun. 8.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66
Jun. 28.	John W. Congdon, Toronto, Canada, books	15 17
Jun. 28.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, freight	3 00
Jun. 28.	A. H. Grant, Montclair, N. J., book	6 00
Jun. 28.	Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, Italy, book	10 94
Jun. 28.	I. S. Bradley, librarian, incidentals	6 70
Jun. 28.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 28.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 28.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Jun. 28.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Jun. 28.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
Jun. 28.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 68
July 26.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	16 40
July 26.	O. G. Libby, Madison, services	10 00
July 26.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	5 35
July 26.	S. B. Weeks, Washington, D. C., books	8 00
July 26.	D. Montague, Jacksonville, Fla., books	3 00
July 26.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
July 26.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
July 26.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	40 00
July 26.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	30 00
July 26.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
July 26.	C. S. Hean, Madison, services	12 00
Aug. 30.	Democrat Ptg. Co., Madison, printing	42 75
Aug. 30.	Henry Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books	23 76
Aug. 30.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	7 39
Aug. 30.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	5 95
Aug. 30.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books	3 41
Aug. 30.	Henry C. Gerling, Madison, drayage	3 25
Aug. 30.	C., M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	2 78
Aug. 30.	George N. Morang & Co., Toronto, Canada, book	2 50
Aug. 30.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Aug. 30.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Aug. 30.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	30 00
Aug. 30.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Aug. 30.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	25 00
Aug. 30.	C. S. Hean, Madison, services	12 00
Sep. 28.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. & supt., traveling expenses	26 72
Sep. 28.	J. H. Enniss, Salisbury, N. C., books	5 00
Sep. 28.	Miss E. S. Tufts, Norwich, Conn., books	3 50
Sep. 28.	Williamson & Co., Toronto, Canada, books	3 50
Sep. 28.	American Economic Ass'n, Ithaca, N. Y., pubs.	3 00
Sep. 28.	American Historical Ass'n, N. Y., pubs.	3 00
Sep. 28.	Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, Baltimore, book	2 40
Sep. 28.	Publishers' Weekly, N. Y., book	2 00

TREASURER'S REPORT.

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Sep. 28.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	.	.	.	1 05
Sep. 28.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Sep. 28.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Sep. 28.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	.	.	.	25 00
Sep. 28.	C. S. Hean, Madison, services	.	.	.	15 00
Oct. 31.	Edwin A. Barber, West Chester, Pa., book	.	.	.	1 50
Oct. 31.	Cubery & Co., San Francisco, book	.	.	.	5 00
Oct. 31.	Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, D. C., book	.	.	.	2 80
Oct. 31.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book and freight	.	.	.	16 50
Oct. 31.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book	.	.	.	3 11
Oct. 31.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., book	.	.	.	2 10
Oct. 31.	J. T. White & Co., N. Y., book	.	.	.	8 00
Oct. 31.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	.	.	.	50 00
Oct. 31.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	.	.	.	50 00
Oct. 31.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Oct. 31.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Oct. 31.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	.	.	.	25 00
Oct. 31.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	.	.	.	16 66
Oct. 31.	C. S. Hean, Madison, services	.	.	.	15 00
Nov. 27.	Arch. Institute of America, Madison, pubs.	.	.	.	10 00
Nov. 27.	I. S. Bradley, librarian, drayage	.	.	.	5 80
Nov. 27.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	.	.	.	3 84
Nov. 27.	W. W. Hixson, Waukesha, Wis., books	.	.	.	3 50
Nov. 27.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	.	.	.	3 25
Nov. 27.	Prince Society, Boston, books	.	.	.	12 00
Nov. 27.	F. H. Severance, Buffalo, N. Y., book	.	.	.	2 11
Nov. 27.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. & supt., traveling expenses	.	.	.	21 23
Nov. 27.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	.	.	.	50 00
Nov. 27.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	.	.	.	50 00
Nov. 27.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services.	.	.	.	50 00
Nov. 27.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Nov. 27.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	.	.	.	30 00
Nov. 27.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	.	.	.	25 00
Nov. 27.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	.	.	.	16 66
Nov. 27.	C. S. Hean, Madison, services	.	.	.	15 00
Total					<hr/> \$4,966 46

REPORTS FROM AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

GREEN BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Minutes of First Meeting.

At a meeting of citizens of Brown county, Wisconsin, held pursuant to public notice at the rooms of the Green Bay Business Men's Association in the Business College building, on Monday evening, October 2, 1899, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of organizing a local historical society, the following were present:

Mrs. A. R. Clark	Mr. A. C. Neville
Miss Abigail B. Robinson	Mrs. A. C. Neville
Mr. W. J. Abrams	Miss Sarah G. Martin
Mrs. W. J. Abrams	Miss Deborah B. Martin
Judge E. H. Ellis	Miss Mary V. Merrill
Mrs. E. H. Ellis	Mrs. T. E. Harris
Mr. D. W. Britton	Miss M. L. Desnoyers
Mr. D. H. Grignon	Miss E. C. Desnoyers
Mrs. Cornelia B. Field	Miss Minnie H. Kelleher
Mr. Frank Tilton	Miss Margaret Kelleher
Mrs. Isadore Chadwick	Mr. John P. Schumacher
Mr. H. A. Barkhausen	Mrs. Thos. Joannes
Mr. Geo. D. Nau	Mr. T. P. Silverwood
Mrs. Geo. D. Nau	Mr. Jerome R. North
Mr. Charles Cotton	Mrs. Helen Bacon North
Mrs. Charles Cotton	Miss Amy F. Carlin
Miss Kate Gaylord	Mrs. Will Luckenbach
Miss H. B. Irwin	Miss E. V. Irwin
Mr. S. H. Cady	Mr. W. L. Evans
Mrs. S. H. Cady	Mr. E. P. Boland
Prof. F. G. Kraege	Prof. Wm. O. Brown
Miss Eleanor Gunn	Mrs. C. H. Holmes
Mr. F. E. Teetshorn	Mr. B. L. Parker
Mrs. F. E. Teetshorn	Mrs. B. L. Parker

The meeting was called to order by Mr. A. C. Neville, who briefly stated its purpose.

On motion, Mr. Neville was elected temporary chairman, and B. L. Parker temporary secretary.

Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical society, addressed the meeting upon the value of the study of local history, the necessity of preserving current local history in permanent form, the character of the work, and the requisites of a good working organization.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Thwaites's remarks, it was, on motion, unanimously resolved that a local historical society be formed in Green Bay.

On motion, after some discussion, the annual dues of the proposed society were fixed at fifty cents for each member.

On motion it was decided that the society hold three meetings each year, two to be during the winter months, and one during the summer.

On motion the chair was authorized to appoint a committee of six members, to include Mr. Neville, who should be chairman, to draft a constitution and set of by-laws for the society, to be reported for adoption at a future meeting. As the other members of the committee, the chair appointed W. J. Abrams, J. R. North, S. H. Cady, Miss Abigail B. Robinson, and Miss Minnie H. Kelleher.

On motion it was decided that the name of the society should be "The Green Bay Historical Society."

On motion a vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Thwaites for his courtesy, and his efforts in behalf of the society.

Thereupon, the society adjourned until Monday evening, October 9, 1899, at the same place and hour.

B. L. PARKER,
Secretary pro tem.

Minutes of Second Meeting.

GREEN BAY, WIS., October 9, 1899.

At an adjourned meeting of the society held this day at the Business College building, at 8 o'clock P. M., there were present about forty persons, Mr. A. C. Neville in the chair.

The committee on constitution and by-laws reported a draft

of a constitution and a set of by-laws, which report was there-upon laid over until the next meeting.

It being desired to organize the society as a corporation under the laws of the State, the following were designated as incorporators: W. L. Evans, Jerome R. North, H. A. Barkhausen, John P. Schumacher, Frank Tilton, and B. L. Parker.

On motion the chair was authorized to appoint a committee of five members to nominate officers for the ensuing year. The chair appointed W. L. Evans, J. J. Fox, Miss Mary V. Merrill, John P. Schumacher, and Mrs. Cornelia B. Field.

After a short consultation the committee reported the following nominations:

For President, Judge E. H. Ellis.

For 1st Vice President, Mr. A. C. Neville.

For 2nd Vice President, Bishop S. G. Messmer.

For 3d Vice President, Mrs. Eliza A. Baker.

For Secretary, B. L. Parker.

For Treasurer, Mr. H. A. Barkhausen.

For Advisory Committee: Mr. J. H. Tayler, Miss Sarah G. Martin, Miss Marie Desnoyers.

On motion, the election of officers was fixed for October 23d, 1899, at 8 o'clock P. M. at same place, to which time the society adjourned.

B. L. PARKER,
Temporary Secretary.

Minutes of Incorporators' Meeting.

GREEN BAY, WIS., October 21, 1899.

The following persons met this day to organize a corporation under the laws of the State of Wisconsin: W. L. Evans, Jerome R. North, H. A. Barkhausen, John P. Schumacher, Frank Tilton, and B. L. Parker.

After duly executing the articles of incorporation, being the constitution reported for adoption by the committee on constitution and by-laws at the meeting of this society on October 9, 1899, and set out at length on pages 1 to 4 inclusive of this

record, on motion, Mr. Frank Tilton was elected temporary chairman and B. L. Parker temporary secretary.

On motion, the rules were suspended and the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous ballot of the corporation for the following named persons as charter members of the society:

Mrs. A. R. Clark	Mrs. Will Luckenbach
Miss Abigail B. Robinson	Miss E. V. Irwin
Mr. W. J. Abrams	Mr. W. L. Evans
Mrs. W. J. Abrams	Mr. E. P. Boland
Judge E. H. Ellis	Prof. Wm. O. Brown
Mrs. E. H. Ellis	Miss Amy F. Carlin
Mr. D. W. Britton	Mr. J. H. Elmore
Mr. D. H. Grignon	Mrs. J. H. Elmore
Mrs. Cornelia B. Field	Mr. Charles Cotton
Mr. Frank Tilton	Mrs. Charles Cotton
Mrs. Frank Tilton	Mr. J. S. Dunham
Mrs. Isadore Chadwick	Mrs. J. S. Dunham.
Mr. H. A. Barkhausen	Miss Sophie Lawton
Mrs. H. A. Barkhausen	Mrs. A. A. Warren
Mr. Geo. D. Nau	Mr. E. F. Parker
Mrs. Geo. D. Nau	Mr. Carlton Merrill
Miss H. B. Irwin	Mrs. Carlton Merrill
Mr. S. H. Cady	Miss Helen Morrow
Mrs. S. H. Cady	Mr. A. Buengener
Prof. F. G. Kraege	Mrs. A. Buengener
Miss Eleanor Gunn	Judge S. D. Hastings, Jr.
Mrs. C. H. Holmes	Mrs. S. D. Hastings, Jr.
Mr. F. E. Teetshorn	Mr. Chas. Joannes
Mrs. F. E. Teetshorn	Mrs. Chas. Joannes
Mr. C. A. Lawton	Mrs. J. J. Parmentier
Mrs. C. A. Lawton	Mr. D. Smith
Mr. J. C. Outhwaite	Mrs. D. Smith
Mrs. J. C. Outhwaite	Miss Ellen Howlette
Mrs. John Schoemaker	Rev. L. A. Ricklin
Mr. W. P. Wagner	Mr. J. H. Tayler
Mrs. W. P. Wagner	Mrs. J. H. Tayler
Mr. A. C. Neville	Bishop Messmer
Mrs. A. C. Neville	Mrs. Joshua Whitney
Miss Sarah G. Martin	Mr. E. Root
Miss Deborah B. Martin	Mr. A. C. Robinson
Miss Mary V. Merrill	Mrs. A. C. Robinson
Mrs. T. E. Harris	Rev. J. J. Fox
Miss M. L. Desnoyers	Miss Anna McDonnell

Miss E. C. Desnoyers
 Miss Minnie H. Kelleher
 Miss Margaret Kelleher
 Mr. John P. Schumacher
 Mrs. Thos. Joannes
 Mr. T. P. Silverwood
 Mr. Jerome R. North
 Mrs. Jerome R. North
 Miss Kate Gaylord

Miss Elizabeth Smith
 Mrs. Eliza A. Baker
 Mrs. Margaret Lefebvre
 Miss Mary Howlette
 Mr. Walter B. Whitman
 Dr. A. C. Mailer
 Mr. B. L. Parker
 Mrs. B. L. Parker

Such ballot was duly cast by the secretary, and the persons named were thereupon declared so elected.

The meeting thereupon adjourned until October 23, 1899, at 8 o'clock P. M., at the Business Men's rooms in the Business College building, then and there to meet with the general adjourned meeting of the preliminary organization for the election of officers and the completion of the organization of the society.

B. L. PARKER,

Secretary pro tem.

Minutes of Third Meeting.

GREEN BAY, WIS., October 23, 1899.

At an adjourned meeting of the society held at the Business Men's rooms in the Business College building this day, at 8 o'clock P. M., there were present about fifty persons, Mr. A. C. Neville in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meetings were read and approved.

On motion, the report of the committee on constitution and by-laws, and the constitution and by-laws reported, were adopted.

On motion, the report of the committee on nominations was adopted, and the rules suspended and the unanimous ballot of the society cast for the officers nominated by the committee.

Thereupon President Ellis was called to the chair, and made a timely address.

A letter from Bishop Messmer, accepting the office of second vice president, and expressing his interest in the society, was read and on motion received and placed on file.

On motion, the rules were suspended, and the unanimous bal-

lot of the society was cast by the secretary for Mrs. M. L. Martin, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Fisk, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Bissinger, Miss Lillian Ellsworth, Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Tilton, and Mr. and Mrs. Manfred Jacobi as charter members of the society, and the persons named were declared duly elected as such.

On motion, the chair was authorized to appoint a committee of five members to prepare a programme for the next regular meeting of the society. As such committee the chair appointed: Mr. A. C. Neville, Mr. T. P. Silverwood, Mrs. A. R. Clark, Miss Marie C. Desnoyers, and B. L. Parker.

Thereupon the society adjourned until December 4, 1899.

B. L. PARKER,
Secretary.

RIPON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Minutes of First Meeting.

November 8, 1899.

The first meeting of the Ripon Historical Society was held at the rooms of John S. Rountree, the eighth day of November, 1899, at 8 p. m.

There were present at said meeting the following gentlemen: Dr. E. H. Merrell, Col. George W. Carter, W. S. Crowther, Prof. C. Dwight Marsh, Dr. Samuel T. Kidder, John S. Rountree, and A. W. Tressler. W. S. Crowther acted as chairman, and A. W. Tressler as secretary.

The secretary submitted the articles of organization which had been agreed to at a preliminary meeting and duly approved by the secretary of state, William H. Froehlich.

Moved that the temporary officers, consisting of George L. Field, president; W. S. Crowther, vice-president; A. W. Tressler, secretary; John S. Rountree, treasurer; and Dr. E. H. Merrell, S. M. Pedrick and C. H. Ellsworth, advisory committee, be declared the permanent officers for the ensuing year, by vote of the secretary. Carried. Prof. C. Dwight Marsh, in place of the secretary, then declared the above-named members the officers for the coming year.

Moved that the secretary formulate the by-laws, as agreed to at this meeting, and present the same at the next meeting. Carried.

Upon motion it was decided that the society first take up for its consideration the formation of the Republican party, with particular attention to the part which Ripon had in that movement.

Moved that George L. Field be instructed to correspond with Major Alvin E. Bovay with reference to securing the papers and material which he has in his possession. Carried.

Moved that W. S. Crowther and C. H. Ellsworth be appointed a committee to report to the society concerning the various newspaper files, which include those papers published at or about the time of the formation of the Republican party. Carried.

Moved that Dr. E. H. Merrell be instructed to look up all matters pertaining to the late Jedediah Bowen, so far as they relate to the formation of the Republican party. Carried.

Moved that Col. George W. Carter report upon the general condition of the city of Ripon at the time of the founding of the party. Carried.

Moved that John S. Rountree report upon the condition of political parties in the year 1854. Carried.

Moved that A. W. Tressler report upon the claims which other places have made with reference to starting the movement which led to the organization of the party. Carried.

Moved that Professor Marsh report upon the bibliography of the entire subject. Carried.

Moved that Dr. S. T. Kidder report concerning the Congregational church and the school house in which the first meetings were held. Carried.

Moved that each member tabulate the bibliography of the subject he has under investigation, and file the same with the secretary. Carried.

The society then adjourned.

A. W. TRESSLER,
Secretary.

Minutes of Second Meeting.

JANUARY 26, 1900.

The Ripon Historical Society met at the rooms of John S. Rountree, January 26th, 1900, at 8 p. m. There were present at said meeting the following members Messr. George L. Field, Dr. E. H. Merrell, Dr. S. T. Kidder, Prof. C. Dwight Marsh, S. M. Pedrick, John S. Rountree, and A. W. Tressler.

President Field tendered his resignation, but the society declined to accept it.

Mr. Field reported concerning his correspondence with Maj. A. E. Bovay, that he had received the following books and papers from him: Rhodes's History (Vol. 11), Flower's *History of the Republican Party*, one copy of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of January 16, 1897, one copy of *Leslie's Weekly* of June 18, 1896, one copy of the *Chautauquan* for September, 1897, and one copy of the Proceedings of the Republican National Convention of 1896. These books and papers were tendered to the society by Mr. Bovay, as containing about all the information he had to offer concerning his connection with the movement which resulted in the formation of the Republican party. Upon motion, the secretary was instructed to acknowledge the receipt of the books and papers.

The various reports arranged for at the last meeting were then called for. All stated that progress had been made in the preparation of the material at hand, but that a final report could not be made until a later meeting.

The by-laws, as drawn up by the secretary in accordance with the instructions given at the last meeting, were then read. On motion of Dr. Merrell, Section 1, Article III., was amended by striking out "second Wednesday" and substituting "third Monday." The section as amended now reads: "The regular meetings of the society shall be held on the third Monday of each month, except in the months of June, July, August and September. The annual meeting shall be held upon the third Monday of November." The by-laws were then approved,

Upon motion, the president and treasurer were appointed a committee to consider and report upon the advisability of holding a banquet.

The secretary was directed to prepare an article for publication in the Ripon papers, the *Advance Press* and the *Commonwealth*, said article to explain the purposes and aims of this society.

The society then adjourned to meet February 19th.

A. W. TRESSLER,

Secretary.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

[INCLUDING DUPLICATES.]

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Adadourian, Haig, Plymouth, Mass.	1	. .
Adams, Charles F., Boston . . . . .	. .	2
Adams, Charles K., Madison	69	180
Adler, Cyrus, Washington, D. C. . . . .	. .	1
Aiton, George B., Minneapolis . . . . .	. .	1
Alabama historical society, Carrollton	1	4
geological survey, Montgomery	1	. .
polytechnic institute, Auburn . . . . .	. .	1
Allen, Mrs. Margaret A., Madison	40	18
Allen, Philip L., Madison	1	2
Almy, F., Buffalo, N. Y.	1	. .
American antiquarian society, Worcester, Mass. . . . .	. .	1
anti-vivisection society, Philadelphia . . . . .	. .	1
bible society, New York . . . . .	. .	3
board of commissioners for foreign mis- sions, Boston	2	4
congregational society, Boston . . . . .	. .	2
library association	2	. .
medical association, Chicago	1	. .
museum of natural history, New York	1	1
numismatic and archæological society, New York . . . . .	. .	1
Swedenborg publishing company, New York	2	. .
Amherst college, Amherst, Mass. . . . .	. .	2
Anderson, Rasmus B., Madison	8	6
Anderson, William J., Madison	1	. .
Andover (Mass.) theological seminary . . . . .	. .	1
Andrews, Byron, Washington, D. C.	6	46
Andrews, Frank D., Vineland, N. J. . . . .	. .	5
Atkinson, Edward, Brookline, Mass. . . . .	. .	2
Atlanta (Ga.) university . . . . .	. .	1
Austin, B. N., Chicago	1	. .
Australian publishing company, Melbourne	1	. .
Bacon, Mrs. Francis, New Haven, Conn.	2	. .
Bacon, W. P., New Britain, Conn.	1	1
Baer, Mrs. Libbie C., Appleton . . . . .	. .	1
Bain, James, Jr., Toronto . . . . .	. .	1
Baker, Miss Florence E., Madison	27	19
Baker, Henry B., Lansing, Mich.	3	145
Balch, A. V., Weyauwega	1	. .
Balch, Thomas W., Philadelphia	1	. .
Barnes, Mrs. C. P., Kenosha	1	. .
Barnwell, James G., Philadelphia . . . . .	. .	1
Battle monument and historical association, Ben- nington, Vt.	1	. .
Beal, T. P., Boston	1	. .
Beckwith, A. C., and E. S., Elkhorn	13	1
Beddall, M. M., Madison	2	. .
Beer, William, New Orleans . . . . .	. .	1
Belgium ministre des chemins de fer, Bruxelles	1	. .
Bell, S. R., Milwaukee , . . . .	. .	2

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Beloit college, Beloit	3	1
Benner, Allen H., Andover, Mass. . . . .	.	1
Bigelow, Mrs. F. G.,* Milwaukee	98	.
Billings, Mrs. Frederick, Woodstock, Vt.	1	.
Bissell House, Grand Rapids, Mich. . . . .	.	1
Blair, Miss Emma H., Madison . . . . .	.	6
Blount, Mrs. Alice S., Milton . . . . .	.	27
Board of international exchanges, Sidney, N. S. W.	1	.
Boston associated charities . . . . .	.	1
children's aid society . . . . .	.	1
children's institutions department . . . . .	.	1
city auditor	1	.
city hospital	1	1
city registry department	1	.
normal school of gymnastics . . . . .	.	1
overseers of the poor . . . . .	.	8
public library	7	154
statistical department	20	73
record commissioners	1	.
street laying-out department	1	1
Boston and Bangor Steamship Co. . . . .	.	1
Bostonian society, Boston . . . . .	.	5
Bowdoin college library, Brunswick, Me. . . . .	.	3
Boyd, Carl, Noblesville, Ind. . . . .	.	1
Bradley, I. S., Madison . . . . .	.	2
Brainerd, Ezra, Middlebury, Vt. . . . .	.	1
Brant, S. A., Madison . . . . .	.	3
Brigham, W. S. T., Chicago . . . . .	.	1
Brinton, Daniel G., Media, Pa. . . . .	.	2
British Columbia, library of legislative assembly, Victoria	1	.
British patent office, London	331	.
Broberg, Gus., Chicago . . . . .	.	1
Brooklyn free lending library . . . . .	.	1
health department	4	.
public library . . . . .	.	1
Brotherhood, Kansas City	1	.
Brotherhood of locomotive engineers, Peoria, Ill.	1	.
Brotherhood of locomotive firemen, Peoria, Ill.	2	.
Brown, Benjamin E., New Haven, Conn. . . . .	.	2
Brown, F. H., Boston	2	.
Brownell, F. F., New York . . . . .	.	1
Bruncken, Ernest, Milwaukee . . . . .	.	3
Bryant, E. E., Madison	2	61
Brymner, Douglas, Ottawa, Canada	1	.
Buckley, C., Beloit	1	.
Buenos Ayres municipal statistics bureau . . . . .	.	1
Buffalo (N. Y.) historical society	2	2
public library	2	2
Bugbee, L. G., Austin, Texas . . . . .	.	1
Bull, Mrs. Storm, Madison	11	.
Bunker Hill monument association, Boston	1	.
Burdick, Mrs. E., Madison	8	.
Bureau of American republics, Washington, D. C.	1	1

*Also unbound serials,

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Burnett county board of supervisors . . . . .	.	1
Burrows Brothers, Cleveland	24	.
Burton, C. M., Detroit, Mich. . . . .	.	2
Butler, James D., Madison	3	13
Cairns, W. B., Madison . . . . .	.	4
Calderhead, J. H., Helena, Mont. . . . .	.	1
Calhoun (Ala.) colored school . . . . .	.	1
California board of bank commissioners, San Fran- cisco	1	.
insurance commissioner, San Francisco . . . . .	.	1
state comptroller, Sacramento	1	.
state library, Sacramento . . . . .	.	1
university, Berkeley . . . . .	.	1
Calkins, Frank W., Wyoming	1	.
Calvert, R., La Crosse	1	2
Calvin, Samuel, Des Moines, Iowa	1	.
Cambridge (Mass.) city clerk	3	.
messenger	1	.
public library . . . . .	.	4
Camden (N. J.) mayor . . . . .	.	2
Canada auditor general, Ottawa	1	.
department of agriculture, Ottawa	1	.
geological survey, Ottawa	1	.
patent office department, Ottawa	3	.
superintendent of immigration, Ottawa	1	.
Carnegie free library, Allegheny, Pa. . . . .	.	2
Carnegie free library, Pittsburgh, Pa. . . . .	.	5
Carson, W. H., Milwaukee . . . . .	.	2
Cedar Rapids (Iowa) free public library . . . . .	.	1
Chamberlain, E. C., New York	1	.
Chamberlin, T. C., Chicago . . . . .	.	3
Chandler, A. D., Boston . . . . .	.	1
Chapman, Mrs. C. P., Madison	106	165
Charleston (S. C.) mayor	1	.
Chase, Daniel S., Haverhill, Mass.	1	.
Chatterton, F., Cheyenne, Wyo. . . . .	.	1
Chicago and Northwestern railroad company, Chicago . . . . .	.	4
Chicago board of trade	1	.
board of trustees of sanitary district	2	7
Commons* . . . . .	.	.
historical society . . . . .	.	2
mayor . . . . .	.	1
Milwaukee, and St. Paul railway company . . . . .	.	1
public library . . . . .	.	1
Commons* . . . . .	.	.
university settlement . . . . .	.	4
Clark university, Worcester, Mass. . . . .	.	1
Cleveland chamber of commerce	1	.
Collins, Mrs. C. E., Reedsburg	1	.
Colonial Dames of America, Pa. Society	1	.
Colorado state penitentiary, Canon City . . . . .	.	1
superintendent of insurance, Denver	1	.
treasurer of state, Denver	1	.

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Columbia university, New York	1	5
Comstock, Mrs. Charles H.,* Madison	1	9
Concordia college, Milwaukee	1	1
Connecticut bureau of labor, Norwich	1	1
historical society, Hartford	1	1
railroad commissioner, Hartford	5	1
secretary of state, Hartford	5	1
Conover, Mrs. A. D., Madison	5	1
Costa Rico institute-fisico-geografico nacional, San Jose	1	2
museo nacional de, San Jose	1	1
Cottage guild, Buffalo, N. Y. . . .	1	2
Council Bluffs (Iowa) free public library	1	1
Craven, E. R., Philadelphia	1	1
Crusius, Mrs. Emilie,* Sauk City	1	1
Cudmore, Patrick, Faribault, Minn. . . .	1	1
Cunningham, H. W., Boston	1	1
Currier, J. J., Newburyport, Mass. . . .	1	1
Curtis, S. M., Newark, Del. . . .	1	1
Dabney, Charles W., Knoxville, Tenn. . . .	1	1
Daniells, Mrs. W.,* Madison	1	9
Dartmouth college, Hanover, N. H. . . .	1	1
Daughters of the American Revolution, Chicago chap. . . .	1	1
Davis, Andrew McF., Cambridge, Mass. . . .	1	3
Davis, J. C., Boston	1	1
Davis, William M., Boston	1	1
Dayton (Ohio) public library and museum	1	3
Dean, John W., Boston	1	2
Dedham (Mass.) historical society	1	5
Denison House, Boston	1	5
Depew, Chauncey M., New York	1	2
Des Moines (Iowa) mayor	1	3
Detroit (Mich.) public library	1	1
Deutsche gesellschaft, Milwaukee	1	2
Devron, G., New Orleans	1	3
District of Columbia health department, Washington	1	1
Doerflinger, C. H., Milwaukee	83	151
Douglas county board of supervisors	1	1
Dover (N. H.) public library	1	2
Draper, L. C., library, Madison	29	1
Drew theological seminary, Madison, N. J. . . .	2	27
Dudley, Mrs. E. H., Madison	15	1
Dux, Joseph, Chicago	1	1
Eames, Wilberforce, New York	1	1
Eaton, A. W. H., Halifax, N. S. . . .	1	1
Edmunds, E. B., Beaver Dam	1	24
Edwards, Miss Ella M., Buffalo, N. Y. . . .	1	2
Elisha D. Smith free public library, Menasha	1	1
Elkins, S. B., Washington, D. C. . . .	1	4
Ellis, W. A., Northfield, Vt. . . .	1	2
Ely, Richard T., Madison	35	516

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pamphlets.
Enoch Pratt free library, Baltimore . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Epworth League House, Boston	1	5
Erie (Pa.) mayor . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Estabrook, C., Newburgh, N. Y.	1	. . .
Fairmount park art association, Philadelphia . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Faville, Stephen, Madison	1	. . .
Fay, Edward A.	1	. . .
Fay, Frederic H., Boston . . . . .	. . . . .	7
Fee, Charles E., St. Paul, Minn. . . . .	. . . . .	3
Field Columbian museum, Chicago . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Finney, B. A., Ann Arbor, Mich. . . . .	. . . . .	1
First Church of Christ Scientist, Madison	5	. . .
Fitch, W. H., Cranmoor . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Fitchburg (Mass.) historical society . . . . .	. . . . .	4
town clerk.	1	. . .
Fitz-Gibbon, Miss M. A., Toronto . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Flint, A. S., Madison . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Flint, Wyman K., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Flower, Frank A., Washington, D. C. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Forbes library, Northampton, Mass. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Foote, Allen R., Tacoma Park, D. C. . . . .	. . . . .	4
Foreign missions library, New York	26	16
Foster, Miss Mary S., Madison	3	20
Fox, George S., New Haven, Conn. . . . .	. . . . .	2
Fox, Mgr. J. J., Green Bay	1	. . .
Frankenburger, D. B., Madison	4	. . .
Free society library, San Francisco . . . . .	. . . . .	2
Freeman, John R., Providence, R. I. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Frick, W. K., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Friendly Aid House, New York . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Friends' book association, Philadelphia . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Furber, G. P., Boston	1	. . .
Gay, Frank B., Hartford, Conn.	1	. . .
Gildersleeve, F., Gildersleeve, Conn. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Gill, A. H., Boston . . . . .	. . . . .	27
Givens, F. M., Fond du Lac . . . . .	. . . . .	8
Goeres, Henry, Kiel	1	. . .
Goodrich social settlement, Cleveland . . . . .	. . . . .	4
Goold, Nathan, Portland, Me. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Gordon, Clarence, New York . . . . .	. . . . .	2
Gould, S. C., Manchester, N. H. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Grace Church parish, New York	3	. . .
Grafton Hall, Fond du Lac . . . . .	. . . . .	4
Grand army of the republic, department of Wis.	4	3
Grand Rapids (Mich.) mayor	1	. . .
public library . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Grant county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Gray, E. B., Madison	2	. . .
Green, Samuel A., Boston	22	154
Green, Samuel S., Worcester, Mass. . . . .	. . . . .	2
Green county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	2
Grier, A. C., Racine	3	. . .
Gross, S. E., Chicago	4	. . .

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Grosvenor public library, Buffalo, N. Y. . . . .	. .	4
Guild, Georgiana, Providence, R. I. . . . .	. .	1
Hahn, B. Florian, Banning, Cal.	1	. .
Hahnemann medical college hospital, Chicago . . . . .	. .	1
Hale, Richard A., Lawrence, Mass. . . . .	. .	7
Hale House, Boston . . . . .	. .	2
Hambleton, Chalkeley J., Chicago	1	. .
Hamilton (Can.) public library . . . . .	. .	1
Hamilton college, Clinton, N. Y. . . . .	. .	1
Hanson, A. K., Washington, D. C. . . . .	. .	1
Hare, Otis F., Milwaukee	1	. .
Harnden, Henry, Madison	1	. .
Harper, Miss Blanch,* Madison	29	16
Harrisburg (Pa.) city clerk	5	. .
factory inspector	1	. .
Hartford (Conn.) board of park commissioners . . . . .	. .	6
board of trade . . . . .	. .	6
theological seminary . . . . .	. .	4
Hartley House, New York . . . . .	. .	2
Harvard university, Cambridge, Mass.	1	. .
Hasse, Miss A. R., New York . . . . .	. .	1
Hastings, S. D., Green Bay	2	. .
Hastreiter, R., Madison . . . . .	. .	2
Haverhill, Mass., mayor . . . . .	. .	3
Hawley, Miss Emma A., Madison . . . . .	. .	1
Hayes, Charles W., Phelps, N. Y. . . . .	. .	2
Heimstreet, E. B., Janesville	3	. .
Helen Heath settlement, Chicago . . . . .	. .	1
Helena (Mont.) public library . . . . .	. .	2
Henkels, S. V., Philadelphia	1	. .
Hill, W. Scott, Augusta, Me. . . . .	. .	1
Hills, William S., Boston . . . . .	. .	1
Hinsdale, B. A., Ann Arbor, Mich. . . . .	. .	1
Hinton, John W., Milwaukee . . . . .	. .	5
Hiram House, Cleveland . . . . .	. .	1
Historical and scientific society of Manitoba, Winni- peg . . . . .	. .	3
Historical society of Newburgh Bay and the High- lands, Newburgh, N. Y. . . . .	. .	1
Hoar, George F., Washington, D. C. . . . .	. .	1
Hoard's Dairyman, Fort Atkinson	1	. .
Hobart, Lillian, Milwaukee	1	. .
Hoe, Richard, Milwaukee . . . . .	. .	1
Holland-American Line, Chicago . . . . .	. .	6
Holmes, L. O., Baraboo . . . . .	. .	6
Hosmer, Marian T., Woburn, Mass. . . . .	. .	1
Hotchkiss, H. L., New Haven, Conn.	3	. .
Howard association, London . . . . .	. .	13
Howe, L. K., Sheboygan	3	. .
Huddleston, J. H., New York	1	. .
Huguenot society, New York	1	4
Hull House, Chicago	12	73
Hunter, Andrew F., Barrie, Ont. . . . .	. .	1
Humphreys, H. H., Highwood, Ill. . . . .	. .	1

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Illinois auditor of public accounts, Springfield . . . . .	. . . . .	6
bureau of labor statistics, Springfield	2 . . . . .	. . . . .
society of engineers and surveyors, Peoria . . . . .	. . . . .	2
state university, Champaign . . . . .	. . . . .	2
Indian rights association, Philadelphia . . . . .	. . . . .	3
Indiana board of state charities, Indianapolis . . . . .	. . . . .	5
state board of tax commissioners, Indian- apolis	1	1
state library, Indianapolis	24	13
Indianapolis (Ind.) board of trade . . . . .	. . . . .	11
Inter-Continental railroad commission, Washington, D. C.	5 . . . . .	. . . . .
International association of machinists, Chicago	2 . . . . .	. . . . .
Interstate commerce commission, Washington, D. C	7	9
Iowa auditor of state, Des Moines	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
board of railroad commissioners, Des Moines	7 . . . . .	. . . . .
historical department, Des Moines	2 . . . . .	. . . . .
masonic library, Cedar Rapids	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
secretary of state, Des Moines	6 . . . . .	. . . . .
state library, Des Moines	7 . . . . .	. . . . .
Iowa county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Ipswich (Mass.) historical society	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Jackson, Miss A. B., North Adams, Mass. . . . .	. . . . .	2
Jackson county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Jameson, J. F., Providence, R. I.	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Jersey City (N. J.) free public library . . . . .	. . . . .	1
John Crerar Library, Chicago . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Johns Hopkins university, Baltimore . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Johnson, F. C., Wilkes-Barré, Pa. . . . .	. . . . .	2
Johnston, John,* Milwaukee	2 . . . . .	. . . . .
Johnston, William P., New Orleans . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Jones, A. E., Montreal	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Jones, S. M., Toledo, Ohio . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Jones, W. J., Washington, D. C.	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Jordan, John W., Philadelphia . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Kansas academy of science, Topeka	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
board of railroad commissioners, Topeka	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
bureau of labor, Topeka	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
state historical society, Topeka . . . . .	. . . . .	2
state penitentiary, Topeka . . . . .	. . . . .	1
university, Lawrence	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Kansas City (Mo.) public library . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Kenosha county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Kerr, Alexander, Madison	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Kerr, Charles H., & Co., Chicago	1 . . . . .	. . . . .
Kraege, F. G., Green Bay . . . . .	. . . . .	2
La Crosse board of trade . . . . .	. . . . .	5
Lafayette county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . . . .	2
Lafin, John W., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . . . .	13
Lake Mohonk conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y. . . . .	. . . . .	7

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Lake Superior mining institute, Houghton, Mich.	.	3
Lancaster, R. J., Darlington	.	1
Lane, William C., Cambridge, Mass.	.	1
Larned, Charles W., New York	1	.
Latimer, Mrs. Charles F., Ashland	.	1
Lawrence (Mass.) board of trade	.	5
Laval university, Quebec	2	.
Lawler, Thomas B., Boston	1	.
Lawson, P. V., Menasha	.	1
Lea, Henry C., Cape May, N. J.	.	1
Legal Intelligencer, Philadelphia	1	.
Legler, Henry E., Milwaukee	43	88
Leipziger, Henry M., New York	.	2
Leipziger, Miss Pauline, New York	.	1
Leland Stanford Jr., university library, Palo Alto, Cal.	.	2
Lennon, John B., Bloomington, Ill.	1	.
Libby, O. G., Madison	2	1
Library Bureau, Boston	1	.
Library of congress, Washington, D. C.	1	.
Light, The, La Crosse	1	.
Lincoln, A., Boston	2	.
Lincoln, F. H., sec'y, Boston	1	1
Lincoln county historical society, Wiscasset, Me.	.	1
Lincoln House, Boston	.	2
Lindsay, Crawford, Quebec	11	15
Literary association of Wisconsin, Milwaukee	.	3
Little, A. D., Boston	.	1
Lloyd, John U., Cincinnati	.	25
London & Northwestern railroad, New York	3	.
Los Angeles (Cal.) public library	.	1
settlements association	.	1
Louisiana adjutant general, New Orleans	.	1
historical society, New Orleans	.	2
Louisville (Ky.) mayor	2	.
Louisville & Nashville railroad company, Louisville	.	3
Lowell (Mass.) mayor	2	.
Lund, F. B., Boston	1	.
Lund, J. W., Boston	.	1
Lynn, Mass., mayor	1	.
Lytle, John J., Philadelphia	.	21
McCauley, L. G., Harrisburg, Pa.	1	.
McConachie, Lauros G., Chicago	1	.
McDonald, Arthur, Washington, D. C.	.	1
McGill university, Toronto	1	5
McLean county (Ill.) historical society, Bloomington	1	.
Macleán, J. P., Cleveland	.	1
Madison board of education	.	1
common council	2	.
Maine adjutant general, Augusta	2	.
board of state assessors, Augusta	1	.
central railroad, Portland	.	4
commissioner of statistics, Augusta	1	.
Manchester (N. H.) mayor	6	.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Manchester (Eng.) literary and philosophical society	1	.
Manitowoc county board of supervisors . . .	.	1
Marquette college, Milwaukee . . . . .	.	1
Maryland geological survey, Baltimore . . .	1	.
historical society, Baltimore . . . . .	.	4
state tax commissioner, Baltimore . . .	2	.
Mason, Edwin C., Madison	4	1
Massachusetts board of education, Boston . .	1	.
board of metropolitan park commis- sioners	7	.
bureau of labor statistics, Boston . . .	5	2
civil service commissioners, Boston . . .	.	1
commissioner of banking, Boston	2	.
commissioner of prisons, Boston	1	.
gas and electric light commissioners, Boston	1	.
general hospital, Boston . . . . .	.	1
historical society, Boston	1	.
horticultural society, Boston . . . . .	.	3
institute of technology, Boston	1	.
medical society, Boston	11	1
railroad commissioners, Boston	2	.
school for feeble-minded, Waverly . . .	.	1
secretary of commonwealth, Boston . . .	2	.
state board of arbitration, Boston . . .	1	.
state board of charities, Boston	1	.
state library, Boston	25	87
Mavor, James, Toronto . . . . .	.	1
Mead, Edwin D., Boston . . . . .	.	1
Meldrim, P. W., Savannah, Ga.	1	.
Michigan adjutant general, Lansing . . . .	.	1
auditor general, Lansing	1	.
banking department, Lansing	1	.
bureau of labor, Lansing	1	.
college of mines, Houghton	1	.
dairy and food commissioner, Lansing . .	.	6
department of public instruction, Lansing	1	.
secretary of state, Lansing	3	.
state board of charities, Lansing	1	.
state board of health, Lansing . . . . .	.	22
state library, Lansing	18	125
university, Ann Arbor	2	.
Middlebury college, Middlebury, Vt. . . . .	.	1
Military order loyal legion U. S., California com- mandery . . . . .	.	22
Colorado commandery . . . . .	.	2
Illinois commandery . . . . .	.	1
Iowa commandery . . . . .	.	3
Kansas commandery . . . . .	.	4
Missouri commandery . . . . .	.	4
Ohio commandery . . . . .	.	22
Oregon commandery . . . . .	.	1
Wisconsin commandery . . . . .	.	11
Miller, Miss Mary, Madison	3	.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets
Milwaukee board of city service commissioners . . . . .	. .	2
board of school directors . . . . .	. .	3
chamber of commerce	1	. .
city clerk	2	. .
city comptroller	1	. .
commissioner of health . . . . .	. .	1
park commissioners	1	. .
public library . . . . .	. .	2
public museum . . . . .	. .	1
Milwaukee county clerk, Milwaukee	1	. .
Miner, B. D., Indianapolis, Ind. . . . .	. .	2
Miner, H. A., Madison . . . . .	. .	2
Minneapolis (Minn.) board of education	3	. .
mayor	1	. .
public library . . . . .	. .	1
St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie railroad company . . . . .	. .	4
Minnesota auditor of state, St. Paul	1	. .
chief fire warden, St. Paul	3	. .
historical society, St. Paul . . . . .	. .	4
railroad and warehouse commission, St. Paul	1	. .
secretary of state, St. Paul	2	1
state board of corrections and charities, St. Paul	2	6
university, Minneapolis	2	. .
Minot, F., Boston	1	. .
Missouri botanical garden, St. Louis	1	1
commissioner of labor, Jefferson City	1	1
department of insurance, Jefferson City	1	. .
historical society, St. Louis . . . . .	. .	1
university, Columbia	1	. .
Mitchell, John L., Washington, D. C.	12	72
Montana historical library, Helena	3	8
state inspector of mines, Helena . . . . .	. .	1
state library, Helena . . . . .	. .	1
state treasurer, Helena	1	. .
Moore, F. W., sec'y, Boston	1	1
Moore, Mrs. Philip N., St. Louis . . . . .	. .	1
Morgans, J. T., Lancaster . . . . .	. .	9
Morris, Howard, Milwaukee	1	11
Morris, Mrs. W. A. P.,* Madison	4	17
Mount Holyoke college, South Hadley, Mass. . . . .	. .	1
Mowry, Duane,* Milwaukee . . . . .	. .	3
Nantucket historical association . . . . .	. .	6
Nashville (Tenn.) city recorder	1	. .
mayor	1	1
National educational association, Winona, Minn. . . . .	. .	4
National league for protection of the family, Auburn- dale, Mass. . . . .	. .	1
Nebraska bureau of labor statistics, Lincoln	1	. .
state historical society, Lincoln	1	. .
state library, Lincoln	18	18

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Nebraska university, agricultural experiment sta- tion, Lincoln . . . . .	. . . . .	5
university library	3	67
New England historical genealogical society, Boston . . . . .	. . . . .	3
New Hampshire bureau of labor, Manchester	1	. . .
secretary of state, Manchester . . . . .	. . . . .	4
state library, Manchester	1	. . .
New Haven colony historical society, New Haven, Conn. . . . .	. . . . .	1
New Haven (Conn.) free public library . . . . .	. . . . .	1
mayor	2	. . .
New Jersey adjutant general, Trenton	1	. . .
comptroller of the treasury, Trenton	1	. . .
department of banking and insurance, Trenton	3	. . .
state board of assessors, Trenton	1	. . .
state board of health, Trenton	1	. . .
state board of taxation, Trenton	4	. . .
state treasurer, Trenton	1	. . .
New Orleans (La.) comptroller . . . . .	. . . . .	1
New South Wales registrar general, Sydney	1	3
New York, city, chamber of commerce	3	. . .
children's aid society . . . . .	. . . . .	1
city comptroller	3	. . .
finance department	2	. . .
gospel settlement . . . . .	. . . . .	1
historical society . . . . .	. . . . .	1
mercantile library . . . . .	. . . . .	3
public library	13	280
state, board of mediation and arbitration, Albany	1	. . .
board of railroad commissioners, Albany	2	. . .
board of health, Albany	2	. . .
bureau of labor statistics, Albany . . . . .	. . . . .	1
charities aid association, New York . . . . .	. . . . .	11
library, Albany	3	. . .
superintendent of banks, Albany	2	3
university, Albany . . . . .	. . . . .	16
Newspapers and periodicals received from pub- lishers	327	. . .
Niagara Falls (N. Y.) public library	1	. . .
Niagara historical society, Niagara, Ont. . . . .	. . . . .	1
Normal college alumnae house, New York . . . . .	. . . . .	4
North Carolina railroad commissioners, Raleigh	1	. . .
state library, Raleigh	7	4
superintendent public instruction, Raleigh	1	. . .
North Dakota agricultural experiment station, Fargo . . . . .	. . . . .	5
commissioner of agriculture and la- bor, Bismarck . . . . .	. . . . .	1
state examiner, Bismarck . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Northampton (Mass.) lunatic hospital . . . . .	. . . . .	1
Northwestern university, Evanston, Ill.	1	. . .
settlement, Chicago . . . . .	. . . . .	4

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pamphlets.
Northern Indiana historical society, South Bend, Ind.	1	8
Numismatic and antiquarian society, Montreal . . . . .	. . .	1
Nurses' Settlement, New York . . . . .	. . .	1
Oakley, Miss M. M., Madison	1	. . .
Oberlin college library, Oberlin, Ohio	2	6
Ohio state auditor, Columbus	1	. . .
department of inspection, Norwalk	1	. . .
state bar association, Norwalk	1	. . .
tax commissioner, Columbus	1	. . .
Oklahoma university, Norman . . . . .	. . .	1
Old residents' historical association, Lowell, Mass.	1	1
Olson, Julius E., Madison	1	. . .
Omaha (Neb.) mayor	3	. . .
Ontario, department of agriculture, Toronto . . . . .	. . .	1
historical society, Toronto	2	3
Orange Valley social settlement, Orange Valley, N. J. . . . .	. . .	1
Oregon treasury department, Salem	1	. . .
Ottawa (Can.) literary and scientific society . . . . .	. . .	1
Ovington, Miss M. W., Brooklyn, N. Y. . . . .	. . .	1
Paine, Nathaniel, Worcester, Mass. . . . .	. . .	2
Paltsits, Victor H., New York . . . . .	. . .	1
Parker, B. F., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . .	2
Parkinson, J. B.,* Madison	1	133
Patchin, Mrs. Hannah E.,* New London	37	57
Paul, Edward J., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . .	1
Peabody institute, Baltimore	1	1
Peck, George W., Milwaukee . . . . .	. . .	15
Pennsylvania adjutant general, Harrisburg	1	. . .
auditor general, Harrisburg	1	. . .
commissioner of banking, Harrisburg	5	. . .
German society, Lebanon	1	. . .
state board of health, Philadelphia	2	. . .
treasury department, Harrisburg	5	. . .
university, Philadelphia	1	. . .
Peoria (Ill.) public library	2	3
Perkins institute, Boston	1	. . .
Peters, W. R., and J. P., Beth Shalem	1	. . .
Phelps memorial settlement, New York . . . . .	. . .	1
Philadelphia academy of natural sciences . . . . .	. . .	1
citizens' municipal association . . . . .	. . .	4
city comptroller	1	. . .
library company . . . . .	. . .	1
mayor	8	. . .
settlement . . . . .	. . .	5
society for alleviating miseries of public prisons	5	. . .
Pierce county board of supervisors . . . . .	. . .	1
Piper, W. E., Fells, Mass. . . . .	. . .	1
Pittsburg (Pa.) city comptroller	2	. . .
mayor	2	. . .
Polk & Co., R. L., Chicago	1	. . .

*Also unbound serials,

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets
Polk county board of supervisors . . . . .	.	1
Porter, Mrs. L., Madison	3	16
Portland (Me.) board of trade	1	.
Pratt institute free library, Brooklyn, N. Y. . . . .	.	2
Pray, T. B., Stevens Point . . . . .	.	2
Presbyterian historical society, Philadelphia . . . . .	.	1
Protestant Episcopal church in U. S., diocese of Al- bany . . . . .	.	23
diocese of Arkansas . . . . .	.	4
diocese of Central N. Y. . . . .	.	31
diocese of Central Pennsyl- vania	1	.
diocese of Chicago . . . . .	.	10
diocese of Connecticut . . . . .	.	36
diocese of East Carolina . . . . .	.	16
diocese of Fond du Lac . . . . .	.	16
diocese of Georgia . . . . .	.	1
diocese of Iowa	1	4
diocese of Kentucky . . . . .	.	1
diocese of Long Island	1	27
diocese of Massachusetts . . . . .	.	46
diocese of Minnesota	5	7
diocese of Missouri . . . . .	.	10
diocese of New York	1	.
diocese of Rhode Island . . . . .	.	22
diocese of Tennessee . . . . .	.	6
diocese of West Virginia . . . . .	.	1
diocese of Western Michigan . . . . .	.	1
diocese of Western New York . . . . .	.	45
Providence (R. I.) city clerk	1	.
public library . . . . .	.	1
record commissioner	1	.
Purdue university, LaFayette, Ind. . . . .	.	1
Putnam, Frederic W., Cambridge, Mass. . . . .	.	1
Racine county board of supervisors . . . . .	.	2
Racine public library . . . . .	.	2
Rand, E. K., Watertown, Mass.	1	.
Raymer, Geo. W., Madison	25	12
Read, Charles F., Brookline, Mass. . . . .	.	5
Reed, W. A., Boston	1	.
Reynolds library, Rochester, N. Y. . . . .	.	1
Rhode Island commissioner of industrial statistics, Providence	1	.
historical society, Providence	1	.
superintendent of census, Providence	1	.
Rice, Franklin P., Worcester, Mass.	1	.
Richardson, W. A., estate of	1	.
Riley, F. L., Oxford, Miss. . . . .	.	1
Ripon college, Ripon . . . . .	.	1
River Falls normal school . . . . .	.	1
Riverside association, New York . . . . .	.	3
Rivington street college settlement, New York . . . . .	.	11
Robbins, A. G., Boston . . . . .	.	2
Roberts, W. H., Philadelphia	7	.
Rochester (N. Y.) historical society . . . . .	.	1
university . . . . .	.	2

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Rosenstengel, W. H., Madison	1	1
Roy, Pierre G., Levis, Canada	1	. .
Royal society of Canada, Toronto	1	. .
St. Croix county board of supervisors . . . .	. .	1
St. Louis (Mo.) mercantile library	8	6
social settlement . . . .	. .	3
St. Olaf college, Northfield, Minn. . . .	. .	1
St. Paul (Minn.) chamber of commerce . . . .	. .	1
Salem (Mass.) public library	3	4
Salmon, Lucy,* Poughkeepsie, N. Y. . . .	. .	. .
San Francisco (Cal.) board of supervisors	3	. .
board of trade . . . .	. .	8
free public library . . . .	. .	1
settlement association . . . .	. .	3
Sanger, George P., Boston	1	. .
Santa Fé Route, gen'l passenger agent, Chicago . . . .	. .	11
Schneider, John, Wauwatosa . . . .	. .	9
Scranton (Pa.) public library . . . .	. .	1
Sellars, Edwin J., Philadelphia	1	. .
Sewell, Miss Anne, Stoughton . . . .	. .	31
Shawano county board of supervisors . . . .	. .	2
Sheldon, Mrs. Anna R., Madison	92	104
Sheldon, Charles S., Madison	12	124
Sheldon, Miss G. R., Madison	13	18
Sheldon, George, Deerfield, Mass. . . .	. .	3
Shepard, I., Winona, Minn. . . .	1	. .
Sherer, Mrs. Frank, Janesville . . . .	. .	1
Shiells, Robert, Neenah	3	. .
Shipley, Mme. Marie A., Chexbres, Switzerland . . . .	. .	1
Shipman, S. V., Chicago	4	. .
Simonds, William Day, Madison	1	. .
Simons, A. M.,* Chicago . . . .	. .	13
Slaughter, M. S.,* Madison	9	14
Smith, Henry F., Hartford, Conn. . . .	1	. .
Smith, Howard L., Chicago . . . .	. .	1
Smith, James S., Madison . . . .	. .	1
Smithsonian institution, Washington	7	2
Snow, Walter B., Watertown, Mass. . . .	. .	5
Society of American wars, commandery-in-chief, Minneapolis . . . .	. .	7
Solberg, Thorvald, Washington, D. C. . . .	. .	6
Sons of American revolution, Arkansas society . . . .	. .	7
Chicago society	1	. .
Colorado society . . . .	. .	1
Connecticut society	1	. .
District of Columbia society . . . .	. .	1
Illinois society	1	. .
Indiana society	1	. .
Michigan society	1	. .
Montana society . . . .	. .	1
Nebraska society . . . .	. .	1
New Hampshire so- ciety . . . .	. .	2

*Also unbound serials,

MISCELLANEOUS GIFTS AND DEPOSITS.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Francis K. Adams, Nashotah.—Two boxes of diaries, letters, and other papers, left by the late Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, P. E. Bishop of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Mary L. Beers, Janesville.—Account of pioneer women of Rock county.

Mrs. C. P. Chapman, Madison.—Orders, reports, letters, etc. of Brigade-Surgeon C. B. Chapman, War of Secession, 1862-63; also Vilas House register, 1865-67.

J. Q. Emery, Albion.—Essays by public school pupils, relating to Wisconsin local history; also thirty-two diaries of the late ex-Senator George A. Jenkins, of Fort Atkinson, extending through more than forty years, ending 1896.

Mrs. Louise Favill, Madison.—Inspection returns of Lieut. B. F. Pierce, Fort Mackinac, September and October, 1816; also, receipt roll of extra-duty men, Fort Mackinac, November, 1818; also, bundle of leases and agreements from papers of the late Henry S. Baird, Green Bay.

Thomas T. Miner, Fond du Lac.—Autograph letter of Thomas T. Miner, of Fond du Lac.

M. V. B. Richards, Viroqua.—History of the city of Viroqua, by Mr. and Mrs. M. C. Nichols; history of town of Liberty, by S. Stowe; history of town of Genoa, by W. L. Riley; also pioneer recollection by Mrs. L. W. Ady and H. A. Vess.

Bernard C. Steiner, Baltimore.—Five letters of the late John R. Baltzell, of Madison, written to Mr. Steiner in 1851, and descriptive of early life in Madison.

Herbert B. Tanner, Kaukauna.—Documents relating to Indian affairs.

C. B. Welton (representing semi-centennial G. A. R. committee, Madison.)—Names and addresses of soldiers and sailors of the War of Secession, who reported at Madison during the semi-centennial celebration, June 8 and 9, 1898.

Wisconsin Commissioners.—Wisconsin register at Trans-Mississippi International Exposition, at Omaha, 1898.

OIL PORTRAITS.

Mrs. L. B. Borbridge, Chicago.—Oil portrait of John S. Hawks, early Madison printer.

J. H. Magoon, Lacon, Ill.—Oil portrait of ex-Congressman Henry S. Magoon, of Darlington.

Mrs. N. W. Wheeler, Baraboo, and Victor Peck, Madison.—Oil portrait of Mrs. Roseline Peck, first woman settler of Madison.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

George B. Burrows, Madison.—Two views of the Wisconsin Territorial executive mansion. Taken in 1898.

F. W. Byers, Monroe.—View of graves in Charleston, (S. C.) cemetery, of three members of Second Wisconsin regiment, U. S. V., in Spanish-American War.

Henry C. Case, Milwaukee.—Portrait of S. S. Case.

Miss Marie L. Desnoyers, Green Bay.—Portraits of Rev. J. M. Auderly, S. J., Rev. F. T. Bonduel, H. X. Desnoyers, and Rev. Gabriel Richard; also, view of old Fort Howard.

Gregory B. Keen, Philadelphia.—The old Philadelphia Free Library, on Fifth street, with portrait of Librarian Lloyd Smith.

P. V. Lawson, Menasha.—View on Little Wolf River, between Royalton and Ostrander, 1899; also, view on White Lake, Waupaca county.

Andrew C. Mailer, De Pere.—Two views of unveiling of historical monument on site of St. Francis Xavier mission, at De Pere.

Miss Deborah B. Martin, Green Bay.—Exterior view of office of the late James Duane Doty of Green Bay, first circuit judge of Wisconsin. Taken in 1898.

Thomas T. Miner, Fond du Lac.—Portrait of Thomas T. Miner, of Fond du Lac.

Miss L. Perrine, Ripon.—First school house in Ripon, wherein the Republican party was formed.

C. V. Porter, Viroqua.—Three views of battle ground of the Bad Ax, Black Hawk War. Taken in 1898.

J. F. Seward, Chicago.—Three views of runic stone found on a knoll near Kensington, Minnesota.

S. A. Sherman, Stevens Point.—Group of old settlers of Portage county. Taken at semi-centennial meeting in May, 1898.

Herbert B. Tanner, Kaukauna.—Group of the Wisconsin Senate of 1866.

R. G. Thwaites, Madison.—Two views of Auriesville, N. Y. and of the shrine to Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit martyr; photographs of pottery dug from mounds and cliff-dwellings in Arizona, and basket work of Arizona Indians; characteristic view of pine-slashings of Northern Wisconsin; the Dalles of St. Croix; Fort Snelling; Sioux Indian woman and wigwam; and three views illustrating life at the University of Wisconsin.

Mrs. William F. Vilas, Madison.—Portraits of Dr. William Harrimon Fox and Mrs. Cornelia R. Averill Fox. In leather case.

Mrs. J. W. Woodward, Avon Park, Fla.—Portrait of Jonathan Daugherty.

Purchased.—Views of Soldiers Grove; 10 views of country in and about De Pere, Green Bay, and the Lower Fox River; the State Histori-

cal Library Building, February, 1899; MS. certificate given to Ogemawnee by Sir William Johnson, 1764; and photograph taken from oil portrait of Daniel Bread.

MEDALS, COINS AND BADGES.

E. B. Gray, Madison.—Badges for representatives to the National G. A. R. encampments, since 1886, when first metallic badge was issued. Loan exhibition.

John Johnston, Milwaukee.—Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of the Nile.

Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.—Historical medal of Civic Library, Montreal.

Ad. Smitz, De Pere.—Roman brass coin, *ca.* A. D. 70-79. Found in De Pere, 1898.

HISTORICAL RELICS.

J. H. Barker, Avon.—Hand-made carpenter's plow. Brought from Connecticut in 1796, and supposed to be 125 years old.

Mrs. Mercy S. Chafee, and Mrs. Mary A. Searle, Hammond.—Mirror purchased in France by Capt. Simeon Sampson, of Plymouth, Mass., a descendant of Myles Standish; also, a small trunk, originally the property of Captain Sampson. Captain Sampson was the first naval commander sent out by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, at the time of the Revolutionary War.

Miss Emeline V. Fowler, Milwaukee.—Invitation to the inaugural reception of William Henry Harrison.

David H. Grignon, Green Bay.—Saddlebags in which the mail from Green Bay to Milwaukee, Chicago, and other points, was carried in 1832, by P. B. Grignon, U. S. mail contractor.

Charles H. Grundy, Marshfield.—Handkerchief published in commemoration of dispersal by police and military of a reform meeting at Manchester, England, August 16, 1819. The motto on the border of the handkerchief is: "Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Election by Ballot."

D. W. Osborn, Oshkosh.—Copper scraper; also, broken copper ax.

WAR RELICS.

Adjutant General of Wisconsin.—Two regimental flags, carried by Wisconsin regiments through the War of Secession.

Frederick A. Bird, Madison.—Scabbard which Capt. F. A. Bird carried at the battle of Prairie Grove, in the War of Secession. One-third of the scabbard was shot away in this battle, and Captain Bird was severely wounded.

Henry A. Dyke, Madison.—Sword presented by citizens of Madison at

Camp Randall, to F. A. Dyke, drum major of the Twenty-ninth regiment, Wisconsin volunteer infantry, in War of Secession.

Fourth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers.—Trophy cup won by Fourth Wisconsin in field day exercises held at Camp Shipp, Anniston, Ala., October 14, 1898.

Howard Morris, Milwaukee.—Section from rosewood post in the San Juan block house, carried by assault on July 1, 1898, by the Thirteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-fourth U. S. infantry; presented to Mr. Morris by H. B. Freeman, colonel of Twenty-fourth regiment. Also, a brick from said block house.

J. Thomet, Milwaukee.—Newspaper published at Manila, Philippine Islands, just after Commodore Dewey's victory, May 1, 1898.

UNCLASSIFIED.

Charles E. Allen, Madison.—Six half-tone blocks from Badger of '99, illustrating life at University of Wisconsin.

B. B. Clarke, Madison.—Piece of old white oak lath taken from the home of Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.

A. R. Hargrave, Madison.—Piece of mistletoe growing out of oak; cecil hemp; cabbage palmetto; and long-leaf curly pine.

O. G. Libby, Madison.—Five relics from the New Richmond cyclone, June, 1899.

George W. Stoner, Madison.—Sample of bark from red-wood tree, California.

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A. R. Hargrave, Madison.—Piece of mistletoe growing out of oak; cecil hemp; cabbage palmetto; and long-leaf curly pine.

O. G. Libby, Madison.—Five relics from the New Richmond cyclone, June, 1899.

George W. Stoner, Madison.—Sample of bark from red-wood tree, California.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS REGULARLY RECEIVED AT
THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN.

[Corrected to January, 1900.]

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS.

The following Wisconsin newspaper are, through the gift of the publishers, now regularly received at the library and bound; all of them are weekly editions, except where otherwise noted:

- Albany*—Albany Vindicator.
- Algoma*—Algoma Record.
- Alma*—Buffalo County Journal.
- Antigo*—Antigo Republican; Weekly News Item.
- Appleton*—Appleton Crescent (d and w); Appleton Volksfreund; Appleton Weekly Post; Gegenwart; Messenger (m); Montagsblatt.
- Arcadia*—Arcadian; Leader.
- Ashland*—Ashland Daily News; Ashland Daily Press; Ashland Weekly Press; Helping Hand (m).
- Augusta*—Augusta Eagle.
- Baldwin*—Baldwin Bulletin.
- Baraboo*—Baraboo Republic; Sauk County Democrat.
- Barron*—Barron County Shield.
- Bayfield*—Bayfield County Press.
- Beaver Dam*—Beaver Dam Argus; Dodge County Citizen.
- Belleville*—Sugar River Recorder.
- Belmont*—Belmont Bee.
- Beloit*—Beloit Free Press (d and w).
- Benton*—Mining Times.
- Berlin*—Berlin Weekly Journal.
- Black River Falls*—Badger State Banner; Jackson County Journal.
- Bloomer*—Bloomer Advance.
- Bloomington*—Bloomington Record.
- Boscobel*—Dial-Enterprise.
- Brandon*—Brandon Times.
- Brodhead*—Brodhead Independent; Brodhead Register; Wisconsin Citizen (m).
- Brooklyn*—Brooklyn News.
- Burlington*—Standard Democrat.
- Cambria*—Cambria News.
- Cassville*—Cassville Index.
- Cedarburg*—Cedarburg News.
- Centralia*—Centralia Enterprise and Tribune.

- Chetek*—Chetek Alert.
Chilton—Chilton Times.
Chippewa Falls—Catholic Sentinel; Chippewa Times; Weekly Herald.
Clinton—Clinton Herald.
Colby—Phonograph.
Columbus—Columbus Democrat.
Crandon—Forest Republican.
Cumberland—Cumberland Advocate.
Dale—Dale Recorder.
Darlington—Darlington Democrat; Republican-Journal.
Deerfield—Enterprise-Leader.
De Forest—De Forest Times.
Delavan—Delavan Republican; Enterprise; Wisconsin Times.
De Pere—Annals of St. Joseph (m); Brown County Democrat; De Pere News.
Dodgeville—Dodgeville Chronicle; Dodgeville Sun; New Star.
Durand—Entering Wedge; Pepin County Courier.
Eagle River—Vilas County News.
Eau Claire—Daily Telegram; Weekly Free Press; Weekly Leader; Weekly Telegram.
Edgerton—Wisconsin Tobacco Reporter.
Elkhorn—Blade; Elkhorn Independent.
Ellsworth—Pierce County Herald.
Elroy—Tribune.
Evansville—Badger; Enterprise; Evansville Review; Tribune.
Fennimore—Times Review.
Florence—Florence Mining News.
Fond du Lac—American Churchman (m); Commonwealth (s-w); Daily Reporter.
Fort Atkinson—Hoard's Dairyman; Jefferson County Union.
Fountain City—Alma Blätter; Buffalo County Republikaner.
Friendship—Adams County Press.
Grand Rapids—Wood County Reporter.
Grantsburg—Burnett County Sentinel; Journal of Burnett County.
Green Bay—Green Bay Advocate (s-w); Green Bay Review; Green Bay Semi-Weekly Gazette.
Hammond—Superintendent (m).
Hancock—Hancock News.
Hartford—Hartford Press.
Hillsboro—Hillsboro Sentry.
Hudson—Hudson Star-Times; True Republican.
Hurley—Iron County Republican; Montreal River Miner.
Independence—Independence News Wave.

Janesville—Daily Gazette; Recorder and Times; Wisconsin Druggist's Exchange (m).

Jefferson—Jefferson Banner.

Juneau—Independent; Juneau Telephone.

Kaukauna—Kaukauna Sun; Kaukauna Times.

Kenosha—Evening News (d); Kenosha Union; Telegraph-Courier.

Kewaunee—Kewaunee Enterprise; Kewaunské Listy.

Kilbourn City—Mirror-Gazette.

La Crosse—Indremissionaeren; La Crosse Chronicle (d and w); La Crosse Daily Press; La Crosse Volksfreund; Nord-Stern; Nord-Stern Blätter; Republican and Leader (d and w).

Lake Geneva—Herald.

Lake Mills—Lake Mills Leader.

Lake Nebagamom—Nebagamom Enterprise.

Lancaster—Grant County Herald; Weekly Teller.

Lodi—Lodi Valley News.

Madison—American Thresherman (m); Amerika; Daily Cardinal; Madison Democrat (d); Madison Methodist (m); Mandt's Weekly; Monona Lake Quarterly; Motor (m); News; Northwestern Mail; State; Weekly Madisonian; Wisconsin Botschafter; Wisconsin Farmer; Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung; Wisconsin State Journal (d and w).

Manitowoc—Manitowoc Citizen; Manitowoc Daily Herald; Manitowoc Pilot; Manitowoc Post; Nord-Westen; Wahrheit.

Marinette—Eagle (d and w); Förposten.

Mattoon—Mattoon Clarion.

Marshfield—Marshfield Times.

Mauston—Juneau County Chronicle; Mauston Star.

Medford—Taylor County Star and News; Waldbote.

Menasha—Menasha Evening Breeze (d); Our Church Life (m).

Menomonee Falls—Wisconsin Agitator (m).

Menomonie—Dunn County News; Menomonie Times; Nordstern.

Merrill—Lincoln County Anzeiger; Merrill Advocate; School Bell Echoes (m).

Merrillan—Wisconsin Leader.

Middleton—Middleton Times-Herald.

Milton—Weekly Telephone.

Milwaukee—Acker-und Gartenbau-Zeitung (s-m); American School Board Journal (m); Church Times (m); Columbia; Evangelisch-Luthesisches Gemeinde-Blatt (s-m); Evening Wisconsin (d); Excelsior; Germania (s-w); Germania und Abend Post (d); International Review (m); Kuryer Polski (d); Lamplighter (m); Living Church Quarterly; Masonic Tidings (m); Milwaukee Daily News; Milwaukee Herold (s-w and d); Milwaukee Journal (d); Milwaukee Sentinel (d); Pneumatic (m); Seebote (s-w); Union Signal; Wahrheit; Wayside (m); Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund (s-w); Wisconsin Vorwärts; Wisconsin

Weather and Crop Journal (m); Wisconsin Weekly Advocate; Young Churchman.

Mineral Point—Iowa County Democrat; Mineral Point Tribune.

Minoqua—Minoqua Times.

Mondovi—Mondovi Herald.

Monroe—Monroe Daily Journal; Monroe Evening Times; Monroe Journal-Gazette; Monroe Sentinel.

Montello—Montello Express.

Mount Horeb—Mount Horeb Times.

Necedah—Necedah Republican.

Neillsville—Neillsville Times; Republican and Press.

New Lisbon—New Lisbon Times.

New London—New London Press; New London Republican.

New Richmond—Republican-Voice.

North La Crosse—Weekly Argus.

Oconomowoc—Oconomowoc Republican; Wisconsin Free Press.

Oconto—Herald; Oconto County Reporter.

Omro—Omro Herald; Omro Journal.

Oneida Reservation—Oneida (irreg).

Oregon—Oregon Observer.

Osceola—Osceola Sun; Polk County Press.

Oshkosh—Daily Northwestern; Weekly Times; Wisconsin Telegraph.

Palmyra—Palmyra Enterprise.

Pardeeville—Crank; Pardeeville Times.

Pepin—Pepin Star.

Peshtigo—Peshtigo Times.

Phillips—Bee; Phillips Times.

Pittsville—Yellow River Pilot.

Plainfield—Sun.

Platteville—Grant County News; Grant County Witness.

Plymouth—Plymouth Reporter; Plymouth Review.

Portage—Portage Weekly Democrat; Wisconsin State Register.

Port Washington—Port Washington Star; Port Washington Zeitung.

Poynette—Poynette Press.

Prairie du Chien—Courier; Prairie du Chien Union.

Prentice—Prentice Calumet.

Prescott—Prescott Tribune.

Princeton—Princeton Republic.

Racine—Racine Journal; Racine Times (d); Slavie; Wisconsin Agriculturist (s-m).

Reedsburg—Reedsburg Free Press.

Rhineland—Rhineland Herald; Vindicator.

Rice Lake—Rice Lake Chronotype; Rice Lake Leader.

Richland Center—Republican Observer; Richland Rustic.

- Rio*—Columbia County Reporter.
Ripon—Advance Press; Ripon Commonwealth.
River Falls—River Falls Journal.
St. Croix Falls—St. Croix Valley Standard.
Shawano—Shawano Folksbote.
Sheboygan—Sheboygan Herald; Sheboygan Telegram (d).
Sheboygan Falls—Sheboygan County News.
Shell Lake—Shell Lake Watchman; Washburn County Register.
Shiocton—Shiocton News.
Shullsburg—Pick and Gad; Southwestern Local.
Sinsinawa—Young Eagle (m).
Soldiers Grove—Advance.
Sparta—Monroe County Democrat; Sparta Herald.
Spring Green—Weekly Home News.
Stanley—Stanley Republican.
Stevens Point—Gazette; Stevens Point Journal.
Stoughton—Stoughton Courier; Stoughton Hub.
Sturgeon Bay—Advocate; Door County Democrat.
Sun Prairie—Sun Prairie Countryman.
Superior—Evening Telegram (d); Inland Ocean; Superior Leader (d); Superior Tidende; Superior Times; Superior Wave; Superior Weekly Telegram.
Thorp—Thorp Courier.
Tomah—Tomah Journal.
Tomahawk—Tomahawk.
Trempealeau—Trempealeau Herald.
Two Rivers—Chronicle.
Union Grove—Union Grove Enterprise.
Valley Junction—Valley Advocate.
Viola—Intelligencer.
Viroqua—Vernon County Censor; Viroqua Republican.
Warrens—Warrens Index.
Washburn—Washburn Times.
Waterford—Waterford Post.
Waterloo—Waterloo Journal.
Watertown—Watertown Gazette; Watertown Republican.
Waukesha—Waukesha Dispatch; Waukesha Freeman.
Waunakee—Waunakee News.
Waupaca—Waupaca Post; Waupaca Record; Waupaca Republican.
Waupun—Waupun Leader; Waupun Times.
Wausau—Central Wisconsin; Deutsche Pionier; Wausau Pilot; Wausau Record (d and w).
Wautoma—Waushara Argus.
West Bend—Washington County Pilot; West Bend Democrat.
Weyauwega—Deutsche Chronik; Weyauwega Chronicle.

Whitewater—Whitewater Gazette; Whitewater Register.

Windsor—Windsor Herald.

Wonewoc—Wonewoc Gazette.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS

are regularly received as follows, either by gift or purchase:

ALABAMA.

Birmingham—Labor Advocate.

Tuskegee—Southern Letter (m).

ALASKA.

Sitka—Alaskan.

ARIZONA.

Phoenix—Republican-Herald.

CALIFORNIA.

Oakland—Signs of the Times.

San Francisco—Class Struggle; Coast Seamen's Journal; Free Society; San Francisco Chronicle (d); San Francisco Tageblatt.

COLORADO.

Denver—Industrial Advocate; Retail Clerks' National Advocate (m); Weekly Rocky Mountain News.

Pinon—Altrurian (m).

Pueblo—Pueblo Courier.

CONNECTICUT.

New Britain—Independent.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington—American Federationist (m); National Tribune; Stonecutters' Journal; Washington Post (d); Woman's Tribune (s-m).

GEORGIA.

Atlanta—Atlanta Constitution (d).

ILLINOIS.

Bloomington—Tailor (m); Trades' Review.

Chicago—American Lumberman; Arbejderen; Chicago Federalist; Chicago-Posten; Chicago Times-Herald (d); Chicago Tribune (d); Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung (d); Christelige Talsmand; Cigar Makers' Official Journal (m); Fackel; Flaming Sword; Folke-Vennen; Forward Movement (m); Hemlandet; Home Visitor (m); Humoristen; International Wood-Worker (m); Labor Exchange Advertiser; Lucifer; People's Press; Public; Skandinavien (s-w); Social Democratic-Herald; Standard; Svenska Amerikanaren; Vorbote; Workers' Call.

Evanston—Social Crusader (m).

Galesburg—Galesburg Labor News.

Quincy—Quincy Labor News.

Rock Island—Ungdoms-Vänner.

INDIANA.

Indianapolis—Buchdrucker-Zeitung; Indiana Tribune (d); Union.

La Fayette—Painters' Journal (m).

IOWA.

Cedar Falls—Dannevirke.

Decorah—College Chips (m); Decorah-Posten (s-w); Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende.

Lake Mills—Republikaneren.

KANSAS.

Gerard—Appeal to Reason.

Independence—Star and Kansan.

Topeka—Kansas Semi-weekly Capital.

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans—Times-Democrat (d).

MAINE.

Portland—Board of Trade Journal (m).

MARYLAND.

Baltimore—Maryland Churchman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston—Boston Herald (d); Christian Register; Granite Cutters' Journal (m); Temperance Cause (m).

Groton—Groton Landmark.

Holyoke—Biene.

MICHIGAN.

Detroit—Herold; Motorman and Conductor (m).

Harbor Springs—Anishinabe Enamiad (m).

Marquette—Mining Journal.

Saginaw—Exponent.

MINNESOTA.

Duluth—Labor World; Union Label Advocate.

Madison—Minnesota Tidende.

Minneapolis—Folkebladet; Illustreret Familie-Journal; Lutheraneren; Minneapolis Tidende; Nye Normanden; Representative; Skandinavisk Farmer-Journal; Ugebladet.

St. Paul—Canadien; Minnesota Stats Tidning; Nordvesten; Pioneer Press (d); Twin City Guardian.

Winona—Westlicher Herold; Sonntags-Winona.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis—Altruist (m); American Pressman (m); Trackmen's Advance Advocate (m).

MONTANA.

Butte City—Butte Weekly Miner.

NEBRASKA.

Omaha—Danske Pioneer; Western Laborer.

Nebraska City—Conservative.

NEW JERSEY.

Camden—Assayer (m).

NEW YORK.

Binghampton—Farm and Factory.

Buffalo—Arbeiter Zeitung.

New York—American Economist; American Fabian (m); American Sentinel; Arbeitaren; Commonwealth; Fourth Estate; Freiheit; Irish World; New Century; New York Tribune (d); New Yorker Volkszeitung (d); People; Record and Guide; St. Andrew's Cross (m); Vorwärts.

Oneonta—Saturday Critic.

Syracuse—Northern Christian Advocate.

Troy—Troy Advocate.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Grand Forks—Normanden.

Hillsboro—Folkets Avis; Statstidende.

OHIO.

Cincinnati—Brauer Zeitung; Cincinnatier-Zeitung (d).

Cleveland—Bakers' Journal; Cleveland Citizen.

Columbus—American Issue (m).

Toledo—Toledo Non-Partisan.

OREGON.

Portland—Weekly Oregonian.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Lancaster—Labor Leader.

Philadelphia—American; American Trade (s-m); Carpenter (m).

Pittsburg—Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (m); National Glass Budget; National Labor Tribune.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston—Weekly News and Courier.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Sioux Falls—Fremad; Syd Dakota Ekko.

TENNESSEE.

Ruskin—Coming Nation.

TEXAS.

Galveston—Galveston Independent.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City—Deseret News (s-w); Living Issues; Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune.

VIRGINIA.

Lawrenceville—Southern Missioner.

Richmond—Times (s-w).

WASHINGTON.

Burley—Co-operator.

Equality—Freedom.

Lakebay—Discontent.

Parkland—Pacific Herald.

Seattle—Seattle Times.

Spokane—Freemen's Labor Journal.

Tacoma—Tacoma Tidende.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Victoria—Semi-Weekly Colonist.

CANADA.

Montreal—Cultivateur; Montreal Gazette (d).

Quebec—Revue Médicale.

Toronto—Mail and Empire (d).

ENGLAND.

London—Brotherhood (m); Justice; Labor Copartnership (m); Land and Labour (m); Weekly Times.

GERMANY.

Frankfort—Wochenblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung.

MANITOBA.

Winnipeg—Manitoba Free Press (s-w).

PERIODICALS.

The following periodicals are regularly received at the library, either by gift or purchase:

Alumni Report. (m.) Philadelphia.

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals. (bi-m.) Philadelphia.

American Anthropologist. (q.) New York.

- American Antiquarian. (bi-m.) Chicago.
American Catholic Historical Researches. (q.) Philadelphia.
American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia.
American Economic Association, Publications. New York.
American Genealogist. (m.) Ardmore, Pa.
American-Geographical Society, Bulletin. (q.) New York.
American Historical Magazine. (q.) Nashville.
American Historical Review. (q.) New York.
American Journal of Archaeology. (bi-m.) Norwood, Mass.
American Journal of Sociology. (bi-m.) Chicago.
American Missionary. (q.) New York.
American Monthly Magazine. Washington.
American Statistical Association, Publications. (q.) Boston.
Annals of Iowa. (q.) Des Moines.
Antiquary. (m.) London.
Arena. (m.) Boston.
Athenæum. (w.) London.
Atlantic Monthly. Boston.
Bible Society Record. (m.) New York.
Biblia. (m.) Meriden, Conn.
Bibliotheca Sacra. (q.) Oberlin, Ohio.
Blackwood's Magazine. (m.) Edinburgh.
Boiler Makers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal. (m.) Kansas City,
Kansas.
Book Buyer. (m.) New York.
Bookman. (m.) New York.
Bookseller. (m.) London.
Boston Public Library, Monthly Bulletin.
British Record Society, Index Library. (q.) London.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal. (m.) Cleveland.
Bulletin. (m.) Nashville, Tenn.
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques. (m.) Lévis, Canada.
Cambridge (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin. (m.)
Canadian Bookseller. (m.) Toronto.
Canadian History. (q.) St. John, N. B.
Canadian Magazine. (m.) Toronto.
Canadian Patent Office Record. (m.) Ottawa.
Catholic World. (m.) New York.
Century. (m.) New York.
Charities Review. (m.) New York.
Church Union. (m.) New York.
Clinique. (m.) Chicago.
Columbia University Quarterly. New York.
Columbia University. Studies in Political Science. New York.
Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais. (m.) New Orleans.

- Connecticut Magazine. (m.) Hartford.
Contemporary Review. (m.) London.
Cook's Excursionist. (m.) New York.
Cosmopolitan. (m.) New York.
Cosmopolitan Osteopath. (m.) Des Moines.
Courrier du Livre. (m.) Quebec.
Critic. (m.) New York.
Current History. (q.) Buffalo.
Dedham Historical Register. (q.) Dedham, Mass.
Dial. (s-m.) Chicago.
Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette. (m.) New York.
Dublin Review. (q.) Dublin.
Economic Studies. (bi-m.) New York.
Edinburgh Review. (q.) Edinburgh.
English Historical Review. (q.) London.
Essex Antiquarian. (m.) Salem, Mass.
Essex Institute Historical Collections. (q.) Salem, Mass.
Evangelical Episcopalian. (m.) Chicago.
Fame. (m.) New York.
Folk Lore. (q.) London.
Forester. (m.) Washington, D. C.
Fortnightly Review. (m.) London.
Forum. (m.) New York.
Genealogical Queries and Memoranda. (q.) London.
Graphic. (w.) London.
Harper's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Harper's Weekly. New York.
Hartford Seminary Record. (q.) Hartford, Conn.
Helena (Mont.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
Historia. (m.) Norwell, Mass.
Home Missionary. (q.) New York.
Illustrated London News. (w.) London.
Illustrated Official Journal (Patents). (w.) London.
Independent. (w.) New York.
International Good Templar. (m.) Milwaukee.
Iowa Historical Record. (q.) Iowa City.
Iowa Masonic Library, Quarterly Bulletin. Cedar Rapids.
Iron Moulders' Journal. (m.) Cincinnati.
Irrigation Age. (m.) Chicago.
Jerseyman. (q.) Flemington, N. J.
Johns Hopkins University Studies. Baltimore.
Journal of American Folk-Lore. (q.) Boston.
Journal of Cincinnati Society of Natural History. (q.) Cincinnati.
Journal of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, etc. (m.) Detroit.
Journal of Political Economy. (q.) Chicago.

Journal of Zoöphily. (m.) Philadelphia.
Journal of the Franklin Institute. (m.) Philadelphia.
Kansas University Quarterly. Lawrence.
Kingsley House Record. (m.) Pittsburg.
Lewisiana. (m.) Elliott, Conn.
Library Journal. (m.) New York.
Library Record: Bulletin of Jersey City (N. J.) Public Library. (m.)
Light. (m.) La Crosse.
Literary Era. (m.) Philadelphia.
Literary News. (m.) New York.
Literature. (w.) London.
Littell's Living Age. (w.) Boston.
Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Lost Cause. (m.) Louisville, Ky.
Lower Norfolk County, Virginia Antiquary. Richmond.
McClure's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Macmillan's Magazine. (m.) London.
Maine Bugle. (q.) Rockland, Me.
Maine Historical Society, Collections. (q.) Portland.
Manifesto. (m.) Canterbury, N. H.
Manitoba Gazette. (w.) Winnipeg.
Methodist Review. (bi-m.) New York.
Milwaukee Health Department, Monthly Report.
Milwaukee Public Library, Quarterly Index of Additions.
Missionary Herald. (m.) Boston.
Money. (m.) New York.
Monthly Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics. Washington
Monthly Weather Review. Washington.
Monumental Records. (m.) New York.
Municipal Affairs. (q.) New York.
Munsey's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Nation. (w.) New York.
National Review. (m.) London.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register. (q.) Boston.
New England Magazine. (m.) Boston.
New Order. (m.) Chicago.
New Philosophy. (m.) Urbana, O.
New World. (q.) Boston.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. (q.) New York.
New York Public Library Bulletin. (m.) New York.
New York State Board of Health, Bulletin. (m.) New York.
Nineteenth Century. (m.) London.
North American Review. (m.) New York.
Northwestern. (w.) Evanston, Ill.
Northwest Magazine. (m.) St. Paul.

- Notes and Queries. (m.) London.
Official Gazette of U. S. Patent Office. (w.) Washington.
Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Columbus, Ohio.
Our Day. (bi-m.) Chicago.
Outlook. (w.) New York.
Overland Monthly. San Francisco.
Pacific Union Printer. (m.) San Francisco.
Paradise of the Pacific. (m.) Honolulu.
Pattern Makers' Journal. (m.) Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania Magazine of History. (q.) Philadelphia.
Philadelphia Library Company, Bulletin. (q.)
Philadelphia Mercantile Library, Bulletin. (q.)
Philosopher. (m.) Wausau.
Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs. (m.) New York.
Political Science Quarterly. New York.
Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (q.) Philadelphia.
Princeton Bulletin. (bi-m.) Princeton, N. J.
Providence (R. I.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
Public Libraries. (m.) Chicago.
Public Opinion. (w.) New York.
Publishers' Weekly. New York.
Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine. Salem, Mass.
Quarterly Journal of Economics. Boston.
Quarterly Review. London.
Queen's Quarterly. Kingston, Ont.
Railroad Telegrapher. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Railroad Trainmen's Journal. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Railway Conductor. (m.) Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Review of Reviews. (m.) New York.
Révue Canadienne. (m.) Montreal.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Publications. (q.) Providence.
Salem (Mass.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
San Francisco Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
Sanitary Inspector. (q.) Augusta, Me.
Scottish Review. (q.) Paisley.
Scribner's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Show Window. (m.) Chicago.
Sound Currency. (s-m.) New York.
Southern History Association, Publications. (q.) Washington.
Spirit of Missions. (m.) New York.
Sunset. (m.) San Francisco.
Texas State Historical Society Quarterly. Austin.
Tradesman. (s-m.) Chattanooga, Tenn.
Travelers' Record. (m.) Hartford, Conn.

Typographical Journal. (m.) Indianapolis.
 United States Dept. of Agriculture, Experiment Station Record.
 United States Dept. of Agriculture, Library Bulletin. (m.)
 University of Tennessee. (q.) Knoxville.
 Vaccination. (m.) Terre Haute, Ind.
 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. (q.) Richmond.
 Washington Historian. (q.) Tacoma, Wash.
 Westminster Review. (m.) London.
 Whist. (m.) Milwaukee.
 William and Mary College Quart. Hist. Magazine. Williamsburg, Va.
 Wisconsin Aegis. (m.) Madison.
 Wisconsin Alumni Magazine. (m.) Madison.
 Wisconsin Horticulturist. (m.) Baraboo.
 Wisconsin Journal of Education. (m.) Madison.
 Wisconsin Osteopath. (m.) Milwaukee.
 Woman's Home Companion. (m.) Springfield, Ohio.

Tabular summary of foregoing lists.

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WISCONSIN NECROLOGY FOR YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1899.

BY FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER, LIBRARY ASSISTANT.

Henry Arnold, born at Kenchernheim, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, November 24, 1832; died at Chilton, Wis., November 23, 1899. He received a liberal education in his youth, completing his studies at a business college at Frankfort-on-the-Main. In 1850, he emigrated to New York, with his family and shortly after to Sheboygan, Wis. In company with his father and brother he managed a store and a large farm, in addition to teaching school. From 1855-71 he lived in Chicago, where he was greatly interested in local politics. In 1871, he located at Chilton and began the practice of law, but in September, 1873, purchased the plant and assumed the editorship of an already established German newspaper, the *Union*, whose name he changed to *Wiskonsin Demokrat*; this he continued to publish until a few weeks before his death. He held many minor city offices, and always took a deep interest in the political affairs of the community.

Julius Wisconsin Bacon, born at Southport (Kenosha), February, 1836; died in Montana, December, 1898. He was probably the first white child born in Kenosha county, and the family to which he belonged was closely allied with the history of pioneer days in that region.

Edward Beeson, born in Columbiana county, O., July 7, 1814; died at Fond du Lac, Wis., December 16, 1898. He learned the trade of printer at Beaver, Pa., and until 1836 traveled as a journeyman through the states of the Old Northwest Territory. In 1841, he settled in Southport, Wis., and for a year was foreman in the office of the *Southport American*. From 1842-47, he lived on a farm in Fond du Lac county; 1847-92, he was almost continuously connected with the publication of some Fond du Lac newspaper, his longest period of service being from 1880-92, as editor and publisher of the *Journal*. He was probably the oldest editor and publisher in Wisconsin.

John R. Bennett, born in Rodman, Jefferson county, N. Y., November 1, 1820; died in Janesville, Wis., June 9, 1899. From 1839-44, he was a student and teacher at the Black River Literary and Religious Institute of Watertown, N. Y. From 1845-48, he studied law in the office of D. N. Burnham, of Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., and having been admitted to

the bar in 1848, came to Janesville, Wis., where he assumed a prominent place at the bar of Rock county. He was district attorney from 1863-67, and from 1882-1899 judge in the Twelfth judicial circuit.

Ira W. Bird, born in Oneida county, N. Y., March 17, 1819; died at Jefferson, Wis., March 11, 1899. He came to Milwaukee in 1836, and for two years was a clerk in the store of Solomon Juneau. In 1838, he removed to Madison. He was register of deeds four years, sheriff of Dane county, and member of the legislature in 1849. He moved to Jefferson in 1854, where he has since resided. He has occupied many minor town and county offices and served three terms as county judge.

John Black, born near Bitche, France, Aug. 16, 1830; died in Milwaukee, October 25, 1899. In 1844, his family came to America and settled in Lockport, N. Y., where his young manhood was spent. In 1857, he came to Milwaukee and at once engaged in the wholesale liquor business. He was a member of the assembly in 1871, of the senate in 1873, and mayor of Milwaukee, 1878-80.

Mrs. Chloe Juliza Bowles, born in New York state, June 2, 1824; died at Oshkosh, Wis., March 25, 1899. When but a child, her parents moved to Pennsylvania, and she there married Alfred J. Thrall. The young couple located a home on government land in Winnebago county, Wis., in June, 1846. Here during the summer of 1846 she taught the first school in that region. In 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Thrall moved to a farm near Utica Center, where she resided continuously for fifty years. In 1879 Mr. Thrall died, and in 1885 she was married to Thomas J. Bowles, who survives her.

Matthew Breckheimer, born at Burg Layen, near Bingen, Germany, March 17, 1830; died at Madison, Wis., August 28, 1899. Coming to America in 1849, he located in Milwaukee, and there worked for two years under Philip Best. He then came to Madison and for nine years was foreman of the Rodermund brewery. From 1860-65 was in partnership with Joseph Hausmann, and after that conducted a brewery on State street.

Lathrop Burgess, born in Chatham, Columbia county, N. Y., August 31, 1805; died at Brighton, Wis., March 11, 1899. He came to Brighton, Kenosha county, in 1838, and for sixty-one years lived a blameless, honored, and respected life. He held offices of profit and trust in his own town, and in 1852-57 represented the county in the assembly.

Stephen Burroughs, born in Newbury, Cuyahoga county, O., May 19, 1828; died in the town of Somers, Kenosha county, Wis., March 13, 1899. In 1847, he came to Wisconsin and having learned the carpenter trade, at once engaged in business as a carpenter and contractor, and continued therein until 1865, when he entered the service of the Chicago & North Western Railway company. He was soon made superintendent of construction of the Milwaukee division, and later, also, of the North

Western Union. This office he held for nineteen years, when he retired from active life, and settled on his farm in Somers.

Consul Willshire Butterfield, born near Colosse, Oswego county, N. Y., July 28, 1824; died at South Omaha, Nebr., September 25, 1899. Although Mr. Butterfield made his home in Wisconsin only from 1875-88, his writings on the history of the Northwest closely identified him with historical interests here. He wrote a brief history of the State, which has been extensively used in atlases and county histories, and *The history and biographical annals of the university of Wisconsin*. Altogether Mr. Butterfield published twenty-five books, the majority of them on some phase of Western history.

DeWitt Campbell, born in 1816; died at Chicago, December 13, 1898. He settled in Southport in the early 30's, and for many years conducted a foundry there.

Frederick Carney, born near Woodstock, Carlton county, New Brunswick, Canada, 1834; died near Menominee, Mich., May 18, 1899. In 1855, Daniel Wells, Jr., of Milwaukee, hired him, with several others, to come west and work in the woods, and his first two winters here were passed in the camps along the Escanaba River. He worked in mills and camps until 1868, when he purchased an interest and became superintendent and general manager of the H. Witbeck Co.,—a position he held at the time of his death. From these small beginnings he built up an immense fortune, and became one of the most influential and prominent citizens of Marinette. He was stricken with apoplexy while on a fishing excursion, and died on the train en route for his home.

Darwin Clark, born in Otego, Otsego county, N. Y., May 12, 1812; died at Madison, Wis., Feb. 11, 1899. From his sixteenth to his twenty-first year, he served as an apprentice to the cabinet-makers' trade. On June 10, 1837, he arrived in Madison, having walked from Chicago, via Milwaukee. During the first season here, he assisted in the erection of the state capitol, a steam mill, a store building, and the American hotel. He followed various occupations until 1845, when he became a furniture dealer, in which business he continued until a few years before his death. He held various local offices in early days, but his supreme service to Madison was in laying out and beautifying Forest Hill cemetery, in his capacity of chairman of the commission. Mr. Clark was the last survivor of the thirty-eight who came to Madison in 1837 to erect the capitol building. Prof. James D. Butler, in the *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 14, 1899, says of him, "Mr. Clark planting himself here sixty-two years ago, has known no other home for more than three score years. * * * In his first years he touched the community at many points. * * * It was his joy to have marked every step in the rise and progress of the city from the green silence and solitude which none but he could remember."

Mrs. Eliza Cole, daughter of James L. Fisk, born in Manlius, N. Y., October 14, 1826; died at Watertown, Wis., December 12, 1898. In 1836, she came with her parents to Milwaukee and a few months later, the family settled in Johnson's Rapids, now Watertown, Wisconsin. She was married to John W. Cole, November 18, 1844, and was one of Watertown's most beloved and respected pioneers.

Elihu Colman, born in Oneida, Brown county, Wis., May 11, 1841; died at Green Bay, Wis., January 25, 1899. His father was a missionary of the Methodist church to the Oneida Indians. In 1847, the family moved to Fond du Lac. Upon the breaking out of the War of Secession in 1861 he enlisted as a private in Co. G, First Wisconsin volunteer cavalry. He soon became quartermaster's sergeant, and issuing and entry clerk in the commissary department, and these offices he filled until 1863, when he was discharged on account of disability. He returned to Wisconsin and entered Lawrence University, from which he was graduated in 1865. In 1866, he was admitted to the bar, and has been a practicing attorney in Fond du Lac county ever since. He was an active Republican and had spoken in every political campaign since 1866. In 1869, he was appointed register in bankruptcy; in 1872, he was a member of the assembly; in 1883, a member of a U. S. commission to examine the Atlantic & Pacific railroad in Arizona, and in 1890, U. S. district attorney for the Eastern district of Wisconsin.

James Conklin, born in Burlington, Vt., June 12, 1831; died at Madison, Wis., February 27, 1899. His family came to Madison in 1849, and for two years he carried the mail from Madison to Prairie du Sac and Monroe. In 1864, in partnership with Neeley Gray, he began a coal and wood business, which continued until 1881, when Mr. Conklin and his sons assumed entire charge of the business, adding an ice plant. Mr. Conklin was a Democrat, being prominent both in local and State politics. He held many city offices; was elected state senator in 1884; and served as postmaster during President Cleveland's second term. He was mayor of the city from 1881-83, and it was during this time that the city waterworks system was introduced. The *State Journal* for Feb. 27, 1899, said of him: "He had been an active business man for a life-time; and the integrity, conservative good judgment and friendly courtesy that marked his dealings in business and social relations opened the way to an unusual succession of public offices, in all of which he acquitted himself carefully, thoroughly and well."

Charles M. Cottrill, born in Montpelier, Vt., October 20, 1834, died in Oconomowoc, Wis., August 4, 1899. In 1854, he came to Oshkosh Wis., entering a general store as clerk and in 1858 went to Milwaukee, where, in 1860, he became connected with the lake transportation business, in which he was actively engaged up to the time of his death. Mr. Cottrill was prominent in Masonic circles, having held many of the highest positions in that order.

David Courtenay, born in Baltimore, Md., November, 1833; died in Milwaukee, January 26, 1899. He came to Milwaukee in 1856, and resided there continuously till his death, carrying on a real estate and brokerage business and being agent for several large estates. Mr. Courtenay was for forty years an active and influential member of St. James Episcopal church.

Anthony Dahlman, born in Gross Reken, Westphalia, Germany, July 5, 1835; died in Milwaukee, December 13, 1899. His family settled near Burlington, Racine county, Wis., in 1842, and he was there educated in the common schools. In 1857 he came to Milwaukee and established a wholesale grocery business; which business he was conducting at the time of his death.

Rufus R. Dawes, born July 4, 1838, in Ohio; died in Marietta, Ohio, August 2, 1899. He came to Wisconsin in 1859, and in the spring of 1861, raised a company at Mauston, Wis. May 3, 1861, he received a commission as captain of company K, of the 6th Wis. U. S. V. Infantry. The regiment formed a part of the famous Iron Brigade and since he rose to its command in 1864, the history of the brigade is his history. At the close of the war he was brevetted brigadier general for meritorious service. Since that time he has resided in Marietta, Ohio.

Carlos Lavalette Douglass, born in Erie county, N. Y., November 4, 1827, died in Fontana, Wis., January 6, 1898. His father's family moved to Michigan in 1828, but finally settled in Walworth county in 1837 in a place known for many years thereafter as "Douglass' Corners." Mr. Douglass was prominent in local affairs, but only once held a State office, being a member of the assembly in 1873.

Gurdin Gillett, born in Hamilton county, N. Y., February 7, 1810; died in Kenosha, Wis., June 6, 1899. He came to Kenosha county in 1848, and to the city in 1853. From 1854-57, he was register of deeds, and from 1871-92, justice of peace. Mr. Gillett was one of the early teachers in the county, and always interested in school matters, being an influential member of the Kenosha school board for sixteen years.

Sereno W. Graves, born in Franklin county, Vt., October, 1810; died in Evansville, Wis., February 13, 1899. He came to Rutland, Wis., in 1844, and took up the large farm which he owned at the time of his death. He was the first town clerk of Rutland, a member of the assembly in 1861, and for over forty years a practical surveyor. Mr. Graves was a Republican leader in his township.

Chauncey Graham Heath, born at Kortright, N. Y., January 27, 1818; died in Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 22, 1899. He came to Wisconsin in the early 40's, and settled at Pewaukee, later moving to Waukesha, which county he represented in the territorial legislature in 1847. In 1848 he was a member of the first State legislature, and from 1875-93, chief of division in the office of the second and third auditors of the treasury department. Since his retirement he has lived in Seneca Falls.

James Holton, born in Lancaster, Coos county, N. H., November 20, 1812; died in Milwaukee, November 20, 1899. In 1837, Mr. Holton emigrated to Buffalo, N. Y., and in February, 1839, arrived in Milwaukee. He took up land on Rock River; went later to Waukesha to take charge of a store; engaged in farming for several years, and finally in the dairy business near Milwaukee. In 1852, he established the first express route by railroad, west of Milwaukee, and built up a good business which he later sold to the American Express Co. Upon the opening of the War of Secession, he was appointed by Governor Randall, assistant quartermaster general, with the rank of colonel, and had charge of troops quartered in Milwaukee. After the war, he was appointed revenue inspector, and held office for two years. From 1869-75, Mr. Holton lived in Florida for the benefit of his health, and thereafter was, up to about five years before his death, actively engaged at Milwaukee in the real estate business.

Joseph E. Irish, born in Paris, Oneida county, N. Y., August 7, 1833; died in South Madison, May 2, 1899. In 1849-50, he was a student at the Oneida Conference Theological seminary at Cazenovia, but did not finish his course. In 1851, he came to Wisconsin, and pursued the occupation of surveyor until 1859, when, having been converted at a Methodist revival in Richland county, he began to preach at Viroqua, and a few years later, was appointed presiding elder of the St. Croix district. In 1872-73, he served in the State senate, being the first clergyman to sit in that body. In June, 1873, he was appointed register of the U. S. land office at Eau Claire and retained the office until 1875. From 1875-1884, and from 1886-92, he was a Methodist minister preaching in various parts of the State. In the interval (1884-86) he was the U. S. consul to Cognac, France. From 1892-96, he was chaplain to the 19th U. S. infantry and the 8th U. S. cavalry. In 1896 he suffered a stroke of paralysis from which he never fully recovered.

Anson Riley Jones, born in Pulaski, Oswego county, N. Y., March, 1831; died in Madison, Wis., October 31, 1899. He came to Madison at an early age, but in 1852 went to California, and was there interested in mining pursuits until 1860. In the latter year he returned to Madison, and established a hardware business which he carried on for many years. He served for nine months in the Union army. During his later years, he was incapacitated by ill health for hard work, but his early activities had made him many warm friends.

Alonzo Livingston Kane, born at Waterloo, Seneca county, N. Y., May 28, 1823; died in Milwaukee, January 29, 1899. He came to Milwaukee in 1846 with his father and brothers, and together they founded the old American House, which occupied the site of the present Plankinton. July, 1861, the hotel was destroyed by fire, and shortly after, Mr. Kane left for Chicago, where he became a member of the firm of Rounds & Kane, printers. The property of the firm was destroyed in the Chicago

fire, and he returned to Milwaukee where for a time, he was manager of the *Daily News*, but in later years he devoted himself wholly to his real estate holdings.

Fenner Kimball, born in North Scituate, R. I., October 6, 1822; died in Janesville, Wis., March 6, 1899. In 1856 he came to Wisconsin and settled on a farm in Rock county, which he continued to work until 1868. In 1864, he moved to Janesville and from that time conducted a furniture and undertaking business. Mr. Kimball represented his district in the legislature in 1878, and in 1896, and was a member of the county board for eighteen years.

John T. Kingston, born in St. Claire county, Ill., January 31, 1819; died in Necedah, Wis., March 26, 1899. In 1847, he located where the present city of Necedah stands and built up a lumbering business. From 1857-61, and 1882-3, he served as State senator, and in 1874 and 1880 as a member of the assembly. During President Harrison's administration, Mr. Kingston was postmaster at Necedah, and for four years thereafter register of deeds for Juneau county.

James Kneeland, born in Le Roy, Genesee county, N. Y., February 12, 1816; died in Milwaukee, September 6, 1899. He came to Illinois in 1837, but four years later settled in Milwaukee and engaged in the mercantile business. In 1845-46, he was a member of the Territorial council, and it was through his efforts that Milwaukee received her first city charter, and the law establishing the public school system. In 1846 he began agitating the subject of a railroad to connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River, and served as director and vice-president of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company. He retired from business life many years before his death, but his earlier activities left a lasting impress upon the city.

Edward McGarry, born in County Downs, Ireland, July 5, 1817; died in Milwaukee, May 17, 1899. He received a good education and began his business career in Liverpool, where he held a government position which required him to inspect the cargoes of the ships entering that port. Coming to the United States in 1841, he moved to Milwaukee in 1847, where in connection with a brother he carried on the painter's trade. He was prominent in local politics and served in the assembly, 1850, 1853, 1864, and in the State senate, 1854, 1855.

James Augustus Mallory, born at Union Valley, Washington county, N. Y., September 28, 1827; died in Milwaukee, November 4, 1899. He received his education at Aurora Academy, near Buffalo, and began the study of law in the office of Horatio Seymour, Jr. He was admitted to the bar in Buffalo in 1849, and in 1851 entered upon the practice of his profession in Milwaukee. He was elected district attorney of Milwaukee county in 1854, which office he held until 1861, when he was appointed judge of the municipal court in Milwaukee to fill an unexpired term. He was elected to the position later and held it continuously until 1890.

John E. Mann, born in Schoharie county, N. Y., March 4, 1821; died in Milwaukee, May 1, 1899. He was graduated from Union College at Schenectady in 1843, admitted to the bar in 1847, and practiced his profession in his native county until 1854, when he came to West Bend, Wis. From 1859-66, he was circuit judge, and at the expiration of his term moved to Milwaukee. In 1874, he was elected judge of the probate court, a position which he held at the time of his death.

Charles Sprague Mears, born at Elbridge, Onondaga county, N. Y., January 12, 1818; died in Madison, Wis., November 1, 1899. He came to Madison from New Albany, Ind., in 1855 and carried on a successful lumber business for ten years. The *Madison Democrat* in commenting on his death says: "He was a citizen of the class that stands for the best interests of the community, socially, governmentally and in the business world."

Joseph M. Morrow, born in East Aurora, Erie county, N. Y., January 1, 1832; died in Sparta, Wis., July 28, 1899. Coming to Sparta, in 1856, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1859. He was district attorney of Monroe county for twelve years, U. S. collector of internal revenue during President Cleveland's administration, and appointed circuit judge to succeed A. W. Newman who was elevated to the supreme bench. Judge Morrow had been a leading man in his city and county for nearly forty years.

Hiram N. Moulton, born in East Hartford, Conn., August 14, 1832; died in Madison, Wis., August 28, 1899. He learned the carpenter's trade in his native town and came to Madison in 1854. He was contractor for many of the larger buildings of the city, and held numerous local offices, being mayor in 1884-5.

Nelson H. Palmer, born in Chenango county, N. Y., March 12, 1819; died in Waterford, Wis., November 29, 1899. In 1838, he emigrated to Waterford, Racine county, Wis., and engaged in business as a carpenter and millwright. During 1860-61, and 1864-67, he was warden of the State prison at Waupun. For over twenty years he was postmaster of Waterford.

William T. Palmer, born in Brooklyn, Susquehanna county, Pa., April 26, 1815; died in Milwaukee, December 5, 1898. In 1855, he moved with his family to Milwaukee and opened an insurance office, but a few years later gave up his business to devote himself to the interests of Masonry. From 1861-1873, he was secretary of the Grand lodge, F. & A. M., of the Grand chapter, R. A. M., and aid of the Grand Commandery, K. T. He was one of the best known Masons in the State.

Mrs. Eben Peck, (née Roseline Willard), born in Middletown, Rutland county, Vt., February 24, 1808; died in Baraboo, Wis., October 20, 1899. In 1829, she was married to Eben Peck, and in 1837, they came to Madison and erected the first log house in which they kept a

hotel. A few years later they moved to Baraboo, being among the first settlers in that city. Mr. Peck is supposed to have been massacred on his way to California in 1844. Their daughter Wisconsiniana V. Peck was the first white child born in Madison.

Frederick Stanton Perkins, born near Trenton Falls, Oneida county, N. Y., December 6, 1832; died in Burlington, Wis., June 14, 1899. In 1836, he came with his parents to Wisconsin and settled in Burlington, Racine county. Mr. Perkins was an artist by profession, and studied in Europe from 1875-77. In 1857 he began a small collection of Indian hatchets and stone implements. He secured his first prehistoric copper implement in 1871, and from that time on his energies and resources were devoted to a collection of these instruments, of which he had gathered about 38,000 at the time of his death.

Patrick F. Pettit, born in the Province of Leinster, County Westmeath, Ireland, 1832; died in Milwaukee, October 3, 1899. He came to America in 1847, received his education at St. Mary's of the Lake, Chicago, and his theological training at St. Francis Seminary (Catholic), Milwaukee. He was ordained in 1859 and had charge of various Wisconsin parishes until 1875, when he was appointed to the pastorate of St. Raphael's church, in Madison, over which he presided until 1897, when failing health caused him to resign.

James M. Phinney, born in Vernon Centre, N. Y., July 4, 1819; died in Appleton, Wis., September 4, 1899. He was educated at Cazenovia Seminary and the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn. Mr. Phinney taught in Kentucky and New York, but in 1849 coming to Wisconsin, for a few years occupied the chair of mathematics at Lawrence University, Appleton. He afterwards engaged in a general mercantile business.

John Fox Potter, born in Augusta, Me., May 11, 1817; died near Lake Beulah, Walworth county, Wis., May 18, 1899. He came to Wisconsin in 1836, and settled upon the land where he died. In 1842, he was judge of Walworth county; in 1856, a member of the assembly; from 1857-63, a member of Congress, and from 1863-67, consul general to Montreal. He was delegate to the convention which founded the Republican party, and always gave his undivided and enthusiastic allegiance to it.

Christian Preusser, born at Itzstein, Nassau, Germany, 1826; died in Milwaukee, June 6, 1899. He came to America, settling in Milwaukee in 1844, and the same year opened the Preusser jewelry store. In 1858 he took his brother into partnership, and in 1887 became president of the C. Preusser Jewelry company. Mr. Preusser is one of the men to whom the city is indebted for its natural history collections, as he was for many years the president of the Wisconsin Natural History Society, and later a trustee of the museum. He was actively interested in the

German-English academy, the German teachers' seminary, and for forty years the president of the Milwaukee Mechanics' Fire Insurance Company.

William Rasdall, born near Bowling Green, Ky., April 12, 1819; died in Chicago, May 25, 1899. He came to Madison, Wis., in 1842, and opened a livery stable and ran a semi-weekly mail stage to Portage. During 1849-55 he was in California. Upon his return to Madison he built the Kentucky House, afterward called the City Hotel, on the north side of King street. This was destroyed by fire in 1864, and he built on its site the Capital House. Later he kept a large boarding house, but retired from active business many years ago.

Harrison Reed, born in Littlefield, Conn., August 26, 1813; died in South Jacksonville, Fla., May 25, 1899. In 1836, he settled in Milwaukee where he conducted a general store. During the following year he had charge of the *Sentinel*. The venture ending in financial disaster, he moved to Madison, and soon thereafter to Menasha, in both of which places he published papers. In 1847, he was elected a member of the constitutional convention; in 1862, was appointed tax-commissioner of Florida; and in 1865, special agent of the Postoffice department for Florida and Alabama; from 1868-73 he was governor of Florida, and from 1878-80, a member of the assembly. Since that time he has lived in retirement at his home in South Jacksonville.

Myron Winslow Reed, born in Northern Vermont, in 1836; died in Denver, Colo., January 30, 1899. His father was a missionary, being sent to Prescott, Wis.; while his son was yet a child. When a young man he taught school at Watertown, Wis.; later, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar, but afterwards took a course at the Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational). He was pastor of a church at Hudson, Mich., when the War of Secession broke out, in which he served as captain. For ten years thereafter he was pastor of a Congregational church at Columbus, Wis., and later of Olivet church, Milwaukee. In 1883, he became pastor of an Indianapolis church, and has since preached outside of the state.

Henry Redford, born in Genesee county, N. Y., 1815; died in the town of Menomonee, Waukesha county, Wis., January 25, 1899. He came to Wisconsin in 1836, making the trip from New York on horseback. At that time he took up the land on which he died.

Alexander Case Resseguie, born at Northampton, Fulton county, N. Y., September 13, 1809; died in Janesville, Wis., May 10, 1899. He followed various occupations until 1846, when he came to Wisconsin settling in Clinton. From 1856-64, he was clerk or deputy clerk of the court, and in 1865, settled permanently in Janesville.

David W. Small, born near Frankfort, Pa., December 28, 1827; died in Oconomowoc, Wis., October 25, 1899. He was graduated at Nazareth

Hall in 1848; two years later admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania; and that same year settled in Oconomowoc. He was district attorney for Waukesha county in 1862 and in 1868, and from 1869-1881, circuit judge in the Second district. Since his retirement from the judgeship, he practiced law in Milwaukee.

Winfield Smith, born at Ft. Howard, Wis., August, 16, 1827; died in Weston Super-Mere, near London, England, November 8, 1899. Mr. Smith's father was an army officer, stationed at Ft. Howard, and he was prepared for college by his parents. He was graduated at Ann Arbor in 1846, studied law in Michigan, and at Milwaukee where he was admitted to the bar in 1850, and where he has ever since been a prominent attorney. From 1863-66, he was attorney-general; in 1872 a member of the assembly, and for many years the president of several large corporations.

William Robert Taylor, born in Coker, Somersetshire, England, in 1820; died in Milwaukee, January 28, 1899. He came to New York with his family in 1832 and there learned the carpenter's trade. After serving his apprenticeship he went to Rochester, and at eighteen became a contractor. In 1844, he settled in Waukesha, Wis., and built the original courthouse of Waukesha county. From 1856-88, he conducted a large tannery in Milwaukee. Mr. Taylor was a member of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce from 1867-99.

W. H. Thomas, born in Clinton county, N. Y., September 25, 1821; died in Pewaukee, Wis., December 27, 1898. He came to Wisconsin in 1838 and settled in the town of Lisbon where he took up a large farm. He was a prominent Democrat, and served as a member of the Territorial legislature in 1846, in the State legislature in 1849 and 1861; and was elected district attorney of Waukesha county in 1869, 1881 and 1884, serving seven years in all. He was major in the Third Wisconsin Cavalry during the War of Secession.

Otis Thompson, born July 26, 1807; died in Brooklyn, Green county, Wis., September 27, 1899. Mr. Thompson came from the New England States in the early 40's, and settled on a farm three miles southwest of the village of Brooklyn, Green county. He had the distinction of being one of seven men who were present at the first town meeting in Brooklyn, and who were also present at the fiftieth anniversary of that occasion. During the War of Secession he served as a volunteer in the Eighth Wisconsin.

Ole Torgerson, born in Sogn, Norway, March 10, 1826; died in Madison, Wis., December 31, 1898. He came to America in 1845, arriving at Madison in August of the same year. Five years later, he published a Norwegian Whig newspaper called *De Norskes Ven*, which had a brief existence. He was one of the founders of the Norwegian-American Press Association. In 1860, on account of failing eyesight, he retired to a

farm in the town of Perry; in 1871 he was elected to the assembly; in 1874 he returned to Madison where he spent the remainder of his days

Ithamar C. Sloan, born in Morrisonville, Madison county, N. Y., May 9, 1822; died in Janesville, Wis., December 24, 1898. He studied law in the office of Timothy Jenkins, Oneida, N. Y., and was there admitted to the bar in 1848. From 1848-54 he practiced his profession in Oneida, coming to Janesville, Wis., in the last named year. From 1852-62 he was district attorney; from 1862-66 member of Congress. In 1875, he was assistant attorney general, and from that year to 1894 professor of law in the University law school, being from 1885-89, dean of the law faculty. The *Madison Democrat* says of him: "The reports of the supreme court are records of the fact that he was engaged in much of the most far-reaching litigation of the State during his long career at the bar."

Elisha D. Smith, born at Brattleboro, Vt., March 29, 1827; died in Menasha, Wis., July 7, 1899. In 1850, he came to Menasha, Wis., and opened a general store. In 1852, he embarked in the wooden ware business, and in spite of many difficulties, built up the largest woodenware plant in the world. His gifts to his city—a park, and a beautiful library building—will long keep his name in remembrance.

George Smith, born in the parish of Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, February 10, 1806; died in London, England, October 7, 1899. He came to America in 1831, and three years later settled in Chicago. In 1837, he went back to Scotland, and thoroughly convinced of the possibilities of the future of Chicago, organized "The Scottish-Illinois Land Investment Company," interesting a number of Scotch capitalists in it, among them Alexander Mitchell, in company with whom he organized the Wisconsin Fire & Marine Insurance Company. This company was in reality a bank, and that word was added to its title in 1853. The history of this bank is one of the most interesting features of the financial history of our State. In 1861, Mr. Smith returned to England, and has since made it his home, although his immense wealth was largely invested in America.

Christian R. Stein, born in Bischofsheim, Germany, 1829; died in Madison, Wis., July 12, 1899. He graduated from the college in his native village, and served in the Baden Revolution. In 1849 he emigrated to America, and in 1850 located in Milwaukee. He spent two years there, and then went to California; returning to Wisconsin in 1854 he settled in Madison. For eight years he conducted a soap factory, and after that a grocery store, but since 1880, he has been engaged in the lumber business.

John W. Stewart, born at Hockins Ferry, near Vincennes, Ind., June 1, 1822; died in Evanston, Ill., September 7, 1899. In 1841, he arrived at Prairie du Chien, Wis., and from there walked thirty miles to Lan-

caster. Here he was immediately appointed clerk of the court, and later postmaster. In 1843, he was district attorney for Green county, and prosecuted J. R. Vineyard who shot C. C. P. Arndt in the council chamber of the Territory. From 1847-48, he was a member of the Territorial legislature, and in 1860-61, of the State senate. He was appointed by President Lincoln allotment commissioner, his duties being to visit Wisconsin regiments in the field, with reference to the needs of the soldiers' families. He was a regent of the State university from 1861-67. In 1871, he moved to Chicago, where for twenty-three years he was active in municipal affairs.

William Strathearn, born in Ochiltree, Ayrshire, in 1823; died in Milwaukee, January 26, 1899. He came to Milwaukee in 1852 and resided there until 1883, when he went to Tomah as head carpenter for the Valley division of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad. He was the contractor for many of the early churches and buildings in Milwaukee and for part of the buildings of the State University and Ripon College. Mr. Strathearn was a prominent member of the various Scotch societies in Milwaukee.

Andrew Tainter, born at Salina, N. Y., July 6, 1823; died in Rice Lake, Wis., October 18, 1899. In 1832, the family settled at Prairie du Chien, and there his boyhood was spent. In 1845 he went to Chippewa Falls and a year later to the Menomonie River country. In 1850 he bought a third interest in the lumbering firm of Knapp & Wilson. This was the beginning of the great firm of Knapp, Stout & Co. He gave a public library to the city of Menomonie as a memorial to his daughter.

Mrs. Caroline D. Wheeler, born near Buffalo, N. Y., December 18, 1818; died in Wauwatosa, Wis., January 25, 1899. She was married in 1836 to William A. Wheeler, and settled in Madison in July of the following year, theirs being the second log cabin erected. Her husband took an active part in the early development of the city.

William K. Wilson, born in Hamilton, Scotland, 1817; died in Wauwatosa, Wis., December 26, 1898. He came to America in 1839, and settled in Milwaukee in 1847. For many years he conducted a successful harness business in Milwaukee, retiring in 1890. In 1851, he was a member of the assembly, and in 1866 and 1868, a member of the senate. He was foreman of the jury in the Radcliffe murder trial, and the conduct of Judge Hubbell on that occasion so offended Mr. Wilson that he preferred charges against him which resulted in Hubbell's impeachment.

LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS IN 1899.

JANUARY.

3. Inauguration of State officers.
11. Opening of the forty-fourth session of the legislature.
23. Milwaukee public museum opened.
31. Joseph V. Quarles, of Milwaukee, nominated for United States senator on the ninety-third ballot, by Republican members of the legislature, and elected.

FEBRUARY.

- 19-20. Wisconsin Chair Co.'s plant at Port Washington burns; loss, \$350,000.
22. Celebration of fiftieth anniversary of formation of State Historical Society.
28. Fourth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers mustered out at Anniston, Alabama.

MARCH.

2. Fourth Regiment arrives at Milwaukee.
7. Bust of Increase A. Lapham, the Wisconsin scientist, presented to Milwaukee Public Library.
9. Wisconsin Press association meets at Madison.
15. L. D. Fargo gives \$5,000 for the founding of a public library at Lake Mills.
20. The First Presbyterian Church of Beloit celebrates its semi-centennial anniversary.

APRIL.

12. Fire at Oshkosh, in the Choate-Hollister furniture factory, and surrounding buildings; loss, \$160,000.
13. Jefferson Club banquet in Milwaukee; Col. W. J. Bryan speaks.
- 13-17. Seventh international convention of the Y. W. C. A. held at Milwaukee.

MAY.

4. Legislature adjourns.
20. Five dams on the Pike River broken by flood; loss, \$50,000.

JUNE.

12. A cyclone totally destroys New Richmond, and does much damage in the northwestern part of the State. Large loss of life and property.
- 18-22. Commencement exercises at the State University.
- 27-30. Milwaukee Carnival.

JULY.

- 19. Hotel Grace, at Milwaukee burns; forty firemen injured and one killed by a falling roof.
- 29. La Crosse carriage works burn; loss, \$60,000.

SEPTEMBER.

- 5-7. Field meeting of the State Historical Society, at Green Bay and De Pere.

OCTOBER.

- 16-17. President McKinley speaks in various Wisconsin cities.
- 25-26. Meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, at Eau Claire.

NOVEMBER.

- 13. Celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Lawrence University.

STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION — SEPTEMBER, 1899.

A State historical convention, under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was held at Green Bay, September 5, 6, and 7, 1899. The papers presented chiefly related to the history of the Fox River valley.

The convention opened at 8 P. M. of Tuesday, September 5, in Knights of Pythias Hall, Vice President W. W. Wight, of Milwaukee, in the chair. There was a large attendance, chiefly from the valley of the Lower Fox. An address of welcome was delivered by Hon. E. Holmes Ellis, of Green Bay, to which the presiding officer responded as follows:

There is something very congenial to the members of the State Historical Society in making a pilgrimage to Green Bay. Moreover it is very becoming that the first peregrination of this venerable body should be to this much more venerable city. For half a century or so our Society has been the mountain—the delightful, green-swarded mountain—at Madison, whither studious Mahomets went to browse; now, when this Society has by metamorphosis become itself a Mahomet, it can undertake no more reverent or appropriate hegira than to visit that historical, and that legendary, mountain which men designate Green Bay. For many and many a rolling year the region hereabout was all there was of Wisconsin—I mean of a pale-faced and civilized Wisconsin. Long before time was measured off into presidential terms; long before the fourth of July was a different day from the fifth; even before Washington ransacked forests with a surveyor's chain, Green Bay was.

The period of the first permanent settlement of whites in this neighborhood, about 1745, was parallel with events of the highest moment in the continent beyond seas. Then, the young Pretender was threatening Hanoverian supremacy in Britain; then, Louis XV. was engaged in digging that deep and awful grave in which, within half a century, the French monarchy was to lie entombed; then, the Holy Roman Empire, that historic anachronism which Voltaire characterized as neither Holy,

nor Roman, nor an Empire, was blazing its last fitful glory under Maria Theresa; then, poor old Spain, denuded of royal males, was the prey of all the crown-hunters of Europe. It is interesting to reflect that this little colony, on the far-distant edge of Lake Michigan, had relation, even though only of contemporaneousness, with occurrences so far-reaching. Although your Green Bay felt but the slightest ripples of these boisterous waves, its era of pioneer existence was not wanting in excitements peculiar to itself. I do not purpose to rehearse them. They have been spread out for your delectation, as for mine, in that dainty, green-bound hand-book, the pages of which no unskilled pens traced.

From *Historic Green Bay* and from the *Jesuit Relations*, to which the former so often directs us, we learn that there was history-making here before 1745, as there were brave men before Agamemnon. Seventy-five years earlier, Claude Allouez began to hold up the symbol of Christianity to the benighted redmen at some yet undetermined spot about this watery curve,—Claude Allouez, whose memory is embalmed in the biography by Dr. La Boule, as enduringly as by the bronze tablet which tomorrow we dedicate.

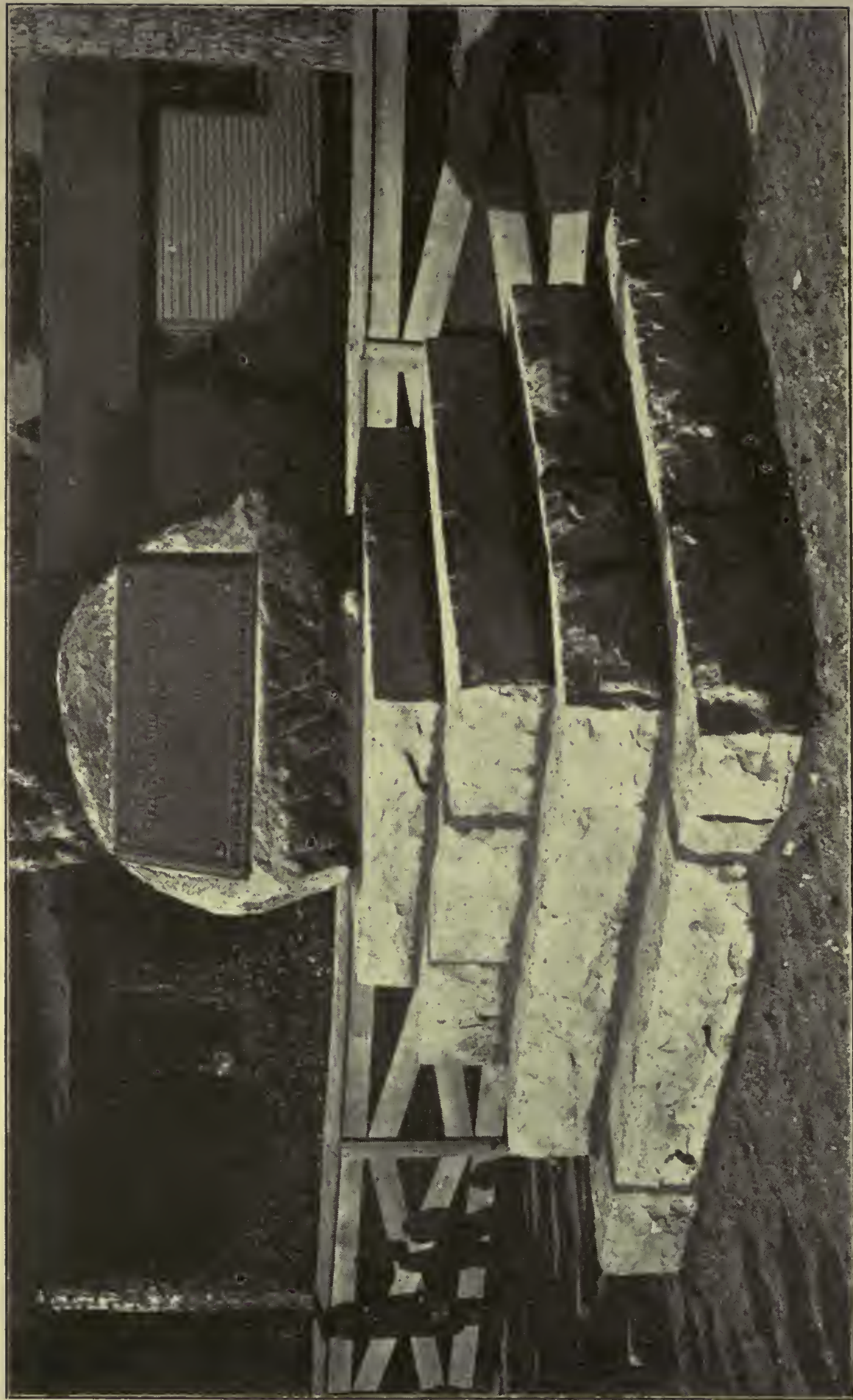
Nor was the year 1669 your first chapter of Genesis. Thirty-five years prior, in 1634, at a time when New England settlers had scarcely begun to thrust back the forests from the Atlantic coast-line, white men had pierced these unpathed wastes and fretted these untried waters. 1634–1899, an almost continuous career of 265 years! Should not a Society that glories in being historical, worship at a shrine of Wisconsin history that dates from 1634?

With these thoughts and associations in mind, in behalf of the State Historical Society, and in lieu of its president, whose feeble substitute I am, I thank you for this your hospitable welcome, for these your cordial terms of greeting.

With feelings of peculiar pleasure we shall make excursions with you to the ancient sites of your momentous scenes; with like emotions we shall hearken to the stories of your past, as those learned in their lore shall con them to us. These delights enjoyed, with the instructive past of your history bannered to our present gaze as an inspiration, a study, and an emphasis for the future, we shall, I trow, descend from this mountain of gratification to the rut and worry of the work-a-day world with higher ideals, with a stronger moral fibre, with truer, more heroic views of citizenship.

Again and again, Sir, and Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

An informal reception followed, given by the Green Bay Woman's Club. A very popular feature of the reception was a large and exceptionally interesting loan exhibition of historical relics, arranged by the Shakespeare Club, in rooms adjoining



MONUMENT TO FATHER CLAUDE ALLOUEZ

Near the site of St. Francis Xavier mission, which was established by Allouez at De Pere Rapids in the winter of 1671-72. Erected by the citizens of De Pere, and unveiled by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, September 6, 1899.

the hall. This exhibition was continued throughout the convention, and attracted marked attention.

The literary exercises of the convention were commenced upon Wednesday morning, in the same hall, the following twenty-minute papers and addresses being presented:

ON THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY. By Secretary REUBEN G. THWAITES.
THE FOX RIVER VALLEY IN THE DAYS OF THE FUR TRADE. By Miss DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN, of Green Bay.

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF GREEN BAY. By WILLIAM L. EVANS, of Green Bay.

LIFE AT THE REV. CUTTING MARSH'S STOCKBRIDGE MISSION (1829-46).

By Miss FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER, of the State Historical Library Staff, Madison.

Talk on places of interest to be seen on trip to De Pere. By ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, of Green Bay.

In the afternoon, the people of Green Bay tendered a steamboat trip to visitors from out of town. A visit was first made to the site, at Little Chute, of the old home of Eleazar Williams, "The Dauphin." Upon the return, a stop was made at De Pere, which was reached at 6 o'clock. Here, the enterprising citizens had, under the auspices of this Society, erected a substantial monument as near as practicable to the site of the Jesuit mission which Father Claude Allouez established at Rapides des Pères in the winter of 1671-72. The base of this monument, which stands about 6 feet high, consists of slabs of local limestone; it is capped by a large granite boulder, to which is affixed a beautiful bronze tablet (2 by 3 feet) bearing this inscription:

<p>Near this spot | stood the chapel of St. Francis Xavier | built in the winter of 1671-72 by | Father Claude Allouez, S. J., | as the centre of his work | in Christianising the Indians | of Wisconsin. | This Memorial Tablet | was erected by the citizens of De Pere | and unveiled by the | State Historical Society of Wisconsin | September 6, 1899.</p>

In the presence of nearly 2,000 people, Hon. R. J. McGeehan, mayor of De Pere, presented the monument to this Society in the following words:

Mr. President, the State Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen—
In behalf of the citizens of De Pere it is my proud privilege to bid you

a cordial welcome to the city. I assure you it is a pleasure for me to perform this duty, for the reason that your meeting here is for the purpose of marking one of the most historic spots within the borders of our State. I now, in behalf of the citizens of De Pere, present to the State Historical Society this historical monument.

Secretary Thwaites, in an impromptu address, accepted the monument for the Society, and briefly related the circumstances under which the French fur traders, explorers, and missionaries first set foot upon the shores of the Lower Fox valley, in the seventeenth century. In the course of his remarks, he exhibited to the people the famous silver ostensorium which Nicholas Perrot, French commandant in the West, presented in 1686 to the De Pere mission, and told the story of its many curious adventures since that date—it now being one of the principal attractions of the Society's museum at Madison.

Mgr. J. J. Fox, vicar general of the Roman Catholic diocese of Green Bay, then read a paper written by Rt. Rev. Dr. S. G. Messmer, bishop of Green Bay, who was unavoidably absent, entitled "The Early Jesuit Missions in the Fox River Valley."

The ceremonies were in charge of State Senator Andrew C. Mailer, of De Pere. The unveiling was done by the city librarian, Miss Elizabeth Smith, assisted by Miss Margaret Mailer.

After the exercises, the Green Bay people and their visitors returned to that city by trolley cars.

In the evening, a formal reception was given in the Knights of Pythias Hall, by the Green Bay Woman's Club.

At 10 A. M. of Thursday, again in the Knights of Pythias Hall, the literary exercises concluded with the following programme:

THE COMING OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS TO WISCONSIN. BY REV. JOHN NELSON DAVIDSON, of Two Rivers.

THE STORY OF THE FOX-WISCONSIN RIVER IMPROVEMENT. BY DR. JOHN B. SANBORN, of Ohio State University.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE FOX RIVER VALLEY. BY MRS. ELLA HOES NEVILLE, of Green Bay.

TALES OF THE CITIES. Ten minute talks upon the historical significance of some of the cities of the Fox River Valley, by the following representatives thereof:

Neenah and Menasha—HON P. V. LAWSON.

Appleton—HON. SAM RYAN, and HON. ELIHU SPENCER.

Kaukauna—DR. HERBERT B. TANNER.

De Pere—E. F. PARKER.

Sturgeon Bay—GEORGE W. ALLEN.

Hon. A. A. Jackson, of Janesville, representing the Society's general committee of arrangements, presented the following statement of appreciation, which was spread upon the minutes:

The committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in charge of its first summer meeting, held at Green Bay, desire to express their gratification at the great interest taken by the citizens of Green Bay in the work of the Society, and the very hearty and cordial reception given to its members. The committee desire to extend the thanks of the Society to those who have prepared and read the very able and exhaustive papers presented, and to those who have added so much to the pleasure of the meeting by the delightful excursions on the river and bay.

The committee also desire, in a very especial manner, to extend the thanks of the Society to the Woman's Club and the ladies of Green Bay, for their very interesting exhibit of historical relics, and the delightful reception given to the Society and its friends last evening.

The afternoon of Thursday was spent in a steamboat trip to Red Banks, twelve miles below the city, on the eastern shore of the bay. This high bluff, overlooking the wide stretch of waters, is the mythical Eden of the Winnebagoes, and some interesting aboriginal legends are associated with the spot; it is now a summer cottage resort for Green Bay people, and at present bears the name of Kish-ke-kwan-te-no ("sloping to the cedars"). Upon arrival at the Banks, the company assembled in front of the Bender Hotel, where Secretary Thwaites told the story of the place.

The return to Green Bay, during an unusually beautiful sunset, concluded the proceedings of the Society's first meeting ever held outside of Madison.

The various committees having the convention in charge, were:

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COMMITTEE IN CHARGE.

Prof. Frederick J. Turner, Hon. W. W. Wight, Hon. A. A. Jackson, Gardner P. Stickney, and Reuben G. Thwaites.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

At Green Bay.

Executive—Arthur C. Neville, Chairman; J. H. Tayler, Secretary; Hon. S. D. Hastings, Jr., Bishop S. G. Messmer, Hon. S. J. Murphy, Jr., Hon. W. J. Fisk, Hon. W. J. Abrams, Mrs. E. H. Ellis, Mrs. Geo. Field, Miss Fannie Last, Mrs. F. E. Teetshorn, Miss Sarah G. Martin, Mr. W. P. Wagner, Mgr. J. J. Fox, C. W. Lomas, Miss Deborah B. Martin, H. Barkhausen, N. Bur, M. J. McCormick, Charles Joannes.

Arrangements and Programme—Arthur C. Neville, ex-officio chairman; Mrs. George Field, Bishop S. G. Messmer, G. Kuestermann, J. H. Elmore, B. L. Parker, Prof. F. G. Kraege, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Jr., and Miss Anna H. McDonnell.

Press and Correspondence—Mrs. F. E. Teetshorn, Hon. E. H. Ellis, J. H. Tayler, Miss Deborah B. Martin, and Rev. M. J. O'Brien.

Loan Exhibition of Historical Relics—Miss Fannie Last, Mgr. J. J. Fox, Misses Sarah and Deborah Martin, W. J. Fisk, D. W. Britton, and the Shakespeare Club: Miss Sarah G. Martin, Secretary, Mrs. E. H. Ellis, Mrs. J. M. Schoemaker, Mrs. Geo. Field, Mrs. Dorr Clark, Mrs. Arthur C. Neville, Miss Fannie Last, Miss Mary V. Merrill, Miss Frederika Crane, Miss Sophia A. Neville, Miss Abbie B. Robinson, and Misses Marie and Bessie Desnoyer.

Finance—Charles Joannes, C. W. Lomas, W. J. Abrams, H. Barkhausen, W. P. Wagner, C. E. Vroman, and M. J. McCormick.

Reception—Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Fisk, Mrs. Wm. Mitchell, Mrs. J. S. Baker, Mrs. M. L. Martin, Mr. and Mrs. Thos. M. Camm, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Whitney, Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Grignon, Hon. Andrew E. Elmore, Mr. Alonzo Kimball, Mrs. C. R. Merrill, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Beaumont, Mrs. Carlton Wheelock, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Reynolds, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Masse, and Miss M. A. Smith.

At De Pere.

President—Dr. Andrew C. Mailer.

Secretary—M. J. Maes.

Arrangements—Miss Elizabeth Smith, Rev. A. Smitz, Mrs. M. Burnett, Mrs. J. C. Outhwaite, and J. A. Knypers.

RECOLLECTIONS OF GREEN BAY, IN TERRITORIAL DAYS.¹

ADDRESS OF WELCOME, BY E. HOLMES ELLIS.

It was a source of congratulation for the people of Green Bay to learn that the State Historical Society had decided to hold its first field meeting in this city. It is doubly gratifying to see so large an assemblage here tonight from different parts of the State. Your presence proves not only that a lively interest is taken in the usefulness and prosperity of the Society, but also that Green Bay, being the oldest and most historic town in Wisconsin, is deserving of the honor conferred upon it by its selection as the proper place for this meeting. On behalf of the people of Green Bay I therefore tender to the Society and its officers our sincere thanks, assuring them that the action they have taken is fully appreciated on our part. We also tender to all who attend this meeting, a most hearty welcome.

I suppose I was chosen to extend to you this welcome, because I was born at Green Bay seventy-three years ago. For this reason, perhaps a few words about some things which I saw and heard, in my early days, may not be out of place. In 1826, Green Bay was a part of Michigan Territory, and continued to be such for ten years before Wisconsin Territory was formed. The house in which my parents resided at the time of my birth was at or near the foot of what was then known as Robinson's hill, which is on the east bank of Fox River about a mile and a

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 6, 1899.

Judge Ellis is a son of the late Gen. Albert G. Ellis, who came to Green Bay in 1824, in connection with the Episcopal mission.

half south of this building. We resided there but a short time; for I remember that when I was about four years old, we lived on the east side of the road to De Pere, a few rods northeast of the house in which Judge Doty and his family then lived. Col. George Boyd then occupied the Agency House near by, on the east bank of Fox River. Those two buildings stood for many years, and their ruins are still visible. A mile farther down, on the ridge, stood the Episcopal mission house, which had been erected in 1830.

I have seen, probably, hundreds of Indian boys and girls at that mission. Happening to be there one day at noon, when I was about five years old, I saw them seated at a long dinner table where they were disciplined by a whip in the hands of one of the teachers. I have no recollection of visiting that school after I saw that whip. Shantytown, with its residences of the Whitneys, Irwins, Bairds, and others, and the large Catholic church, soon became a familiar scene.

Between 1830 and 1833, most of the settlers of Shantytown moved to this place. The soldiers also left Camp Smith and returned to Fort Howard, about that time. Several tribes of Indians were then here; some of whom remained later—Menomonees, Chippewas, Oneidas, and small bands of Pottawatomes, Winnebagoes, Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux. After receiving their annuities they were accustomed to come to Green Bay to trade with the whites; often holding war dances, which became familiar sights on our Washington street. In those war dances, tomahawks and war clubs were fiercely brandished; war paint shone on every warrior's face, and the war whoop was always heard. The Indians realizing that Fort Howard was then occupied by the military, were rendered peaceable, and made no disturbances, except occasionally, when some of them became intoxicated. Then they often entered dwellings, frightening women and children. I remember returning home from school one day, and seeing my father ejecting an Indian from the house. The savage came out of the door "heels

over head," and soon fled from the premises. It was feared about that time that the Black Hawk War would create an uprising of the Indians here, but such preparations for defense were made that an outbreak was prevented. Besides the organization of a company of volunteers, by Captain Robert Irwin, Jr., a large body of dragoons came to Green Bay and Fort Howard in 1832, probably to aid the soldiers at the fort. These dragoons remained but a few days. The Black Hawk War ended, and no serious trouble from the Indians was ever afterwards feared at Green Bay.

During the years which intervened between 1832 and 1847, I must have seen many times the Rev. Eleazar Williams, who became famous as "the lost Dauphin." I have a distinct recollection of seeing him in Mr. Baird's office as late as 1845. His biography is undoubtedly familiar to you all.

In October, 1847, I took a trip up the Fox River valley on horseback, going as far as the place now known as Portage City. At that time there were but a few houses there, and only a foot bridge across Fox River. At the Portage I met Henry Merrell, the pioneer who settled at Fort Winnebago in 1834. Returning, I was obliged to cross Fox River, walking on the foot bridge while my horse swam the river as I led him with a rope. This reminds me that about two years later, Judge Howe started from Green Bay on horseback to hold a term of court in Manitowoc county. The road was so bad that he got mired, abandoned the trip, returned home, and resigned the judgeship.

One more instance illustrating the difference between the modes of travel in our early days, and the railroads and conveyances of the present time. I think it was in 1845 or 1846, that Daniel H. Whitney started from this place on horseback for Cooperstown, on the Manitowoc road. While on the way his horse plunged into one of those bog holes which had no bottom. The horse went down, leaving only his head above water. Darkness came on. Whitney remained in the forest all night, watching his horse's head, and keeping off the wolves which howled

around him. He walked home in the morning, and returned with a man and two teams to the horse in the hole, fastened ropes around the horse's neck, and with his two teams hauled the animal out and triumphantly brought him back to Green Bay.

I have often heard that this Manitowoc road was surveyed and opened under the direction of Captain Thomas Jefferson Cram, a military officer, who laid it out on straight lines, regardless of the best ground for the highway; and I have also heard it remarked that Captain Cram ought to have had some of those cat-tail flags crammed down his throat as a punishment for opening the road over such dangerous places. Such as I have described, were some of the roads and modes of travel here, while Wisconsin was a Territory, and even later.

But I will not detain you longer with experiences of our early settlers, many interesting events of whose lives must be left untold for want of time. In 1848 this State was organized. In 1849, this State Historical Society was formed. Its regular meetings have been held at Madison during the past fifty years, but this is its first field meeting.

In performing the duty of bidding you welcome here, I must say a few words more. You are welcomed to a place which is sacred to the memories of such explorers as Jean Nicolet and Louis Joliet, such noble missionaries as Claude Allouez, Père Marquette, and others, who braved many perils and dangers to bring Christianity to a country where savages held undisputed sway. In 1634, Jean Nicolet came here from Quebec in a bark canoe. He is said to have been the first white man to look upon the waters of Lake Michigan. Father Allouez is said to have landed here in 1669. In the year 1673, Father Marquette made his famous voyage down the Mississippi, first passing up our beloved Fox River.

You are welcomed to the place where lived and died one of the most intrepid pioneers of the West, upon whom (according to the memoir of Joseph Tassé) was bestowed the title of "Founder and Father of Wisconsin," the noble Charles de Langlade, who,

as history tells us, was the hero of ninety-nine battles and skirmishes, and desired, even in his old age, to fight one more battle to make his number an even hundred.

You are also welcomed to the memory of another early settler, the son-in-law of Langlade, Pierre Grignon, who, by his hospitable treatment of friends and strangers, earned the sobriquet of "prince of entertainers." The Grignon family was large, and its members will long be remembered as among the best of the early settlers here.

Another remarkable man of those times, to whose memory you are welcomed, was Judge James Porlier, who lived here from 1791 to 1839, enjoying the confidence and esteem of every one, for his urbanity as an individual, and for his ability and impartiality as a jurist.

I will next remind you of another of nature's noblemen, John Lawe, who resided here for many years prior to and until February 11, 1846, during all of which time he had the respect and esteem of the whole community, for his honesty as a trader and for his kindness and generosity to the poor, and towards all with whom he came in contact.

Robert Irwin, Jr., came to Green Bay in 1817. He was in active business, and in public life in Brown county until 1833, when he died, respected and esteemed by all. It was he who received a captain's commission from Governor Cass, and organized a company of volunteers during the Black Hawk War, for the defense of this part of the country. He had also been a member of the first four legislative councils of Michigan Territory.

Many others might be named, among the pioneers who lived here while this was a part of Michigan Territory (from 1818 to 1836), for it was not until 1836 that Wisconsin Territory was formed.

Among the settlers who resided here between 1830 and 1846 (some of them later), all of whom I well knew, were—

Alexander J. Irwin	Elisha Morrow
Henry S. Baird	Burley Follett
Morgan L. Martin	Emmons W. Follett
John P. Arndt	Francis Desnoyers
Charles C. P. Arndt	Joel S. Fisk
Samuel W. Beall	David Agry
Edward Outhwaite	John F. Meade
Col. Samuel Ryan	Matthew J. Meade
Albert G. Ellis	Dr. Charles E. Crane
John V. Suydam	Dr. Carabin
Peter B. Grignon	Louis Hoeffel
Thomas L. Franks	Daniel Butler
Ebenezer Childs	Wm. D. Colburn
John Y. Smith	Wm. H. Bruce
Randall Wilcox	Francis Gilbert
Reuben Field	Peter White
Wm. Field, Jr.	Rev. George White
Dr. David Ward	John J. Driggs
Robert M. Eberts	Harry E. Eastman
Wm. Mitchell	W. C. E. Thomas
Jonathan Wheelock	Charles R. Tyler
Daniel Whitney	Nathan Goodell
Thomas Green	Daniel M. Whitney
Edson Sherwood	J. Kip Anderson
A. G. E. Holmes	Albert Weise
John Last	Mr. Ingalls
John S. Horner	Orlo B. Graves.
Daniel W. King	

Prominent among clergymen who resided here during the same time were—

Rev. Richard F. Cadle	Rev. Benjamin Eaton
Rev. F. J. Bonduel	Rev. Benjamin Akerly
Rev. Jeremiah Porter	

Conspicuous among the officers of Fort Howard were—

Gen. George M. Brooks	Capt. John W. Cotton
Capt. Moses E. Merrill	Lieut. Wm. Root
Col. William H. Chapman	Maj. Ephraim Shaler
Capt. Martin Scott	

And still later, came—

Charles D. Robinson
Myron P. Lindsley
Stephen R. Cotton
Timothy O. Howe
James H. Howe
John C. Neville
James S. Baker

Thomas R. Hudd
George Langton
John B. A. Masse
Ephraim Crocker
Otto Tank
Dr. H. O. Crane
David B. McCartney

It is difficult to realize that all of the men whom I have named, and many others of our early settlers, have passed over to the "beyond," but it is true. Time will not permit me to speak of them all, further than to say that they were prominent among those who laid the foundations of the State; and while we cannot claim that they were all faultless, their lives are their best monuments, and their good deeds will benefit the human race to the end of time. And this, without disparagement of any one whose name is not given. I have named only those who have gone before us. The list is a long one; but it is like the rolls of honor which, though they bring sadness to our hearts, yet the happy memories which they bring give us courage and strength for the work which remains for us to do.

I wish here to remind you of a pleasing incident in the life of our honored senator, the late Timothy O. Howe. In 1845 or 1846, at a reception given by Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Baird, at their residence, in celebration of their golden wedding, Judge Howe was present as an honored guest, and delivered a short address which he closed with these beautiful words: "I call upon these your neighbors to bear witness that we stand in the presence of a couple who came here, into a remote wilderness fifty years ago; who brought the best style of Christian civilization with them; who have cherished it ever since, until now, when the tide of metropolitan waves and metropolitan culture breaks at their feet, they bring no sentiment of kindness, no rule of courtesy, no flower of good breeding which is not domestic here in this household."

It was because of such people as these, that Green Bay society became noted for its culture and refinement. Indeed the first white settlers here, as I have often heard, formed one of the best and happiest communities in the world; all taking a lively interest in the welfare of one another, and by their deeds of kindness and charity leaving an impress for good, which can never die; and well could they be the happy people they were, for all nature conspired to make them so. This Fox River valley, as they found it, was one of the most beautiful spots on earth. In those early days game abounded in the forests, and aquatic fowl and fish in the waters; wild fruits and flowers were abundant, and the soil produced the best of crops. With such environment how could the men and women of those early days be otherwise than happy? The good influence of their lives brings, and will ever bring, happiness to us who have taken their places, and to all who may follow.

And so I believe that each one of us can truthfully say in words which I was pleased to hear from one of our foreign-born residents, "Green Bay is a good enough Paradise for me."

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe this meeting will be a source of delightful interest to us all, and I trust that it will leave in the minds of our visiting friends, pleasant recollections of good old Green Bay.

THE FOX RIVER VALLEY IN THE DAYS OF THE FUR TRADE.¹

BY DEBORAH BEAUMONT MARTIN.

When the embryo United States of America was comprised in a series of little isolated sea coast towns under English rule, and New France was the El Dorado of the rival power, one great dominating influence gave impetus to French exploration and discovery in the new world—the all embracing fur trade. It caught in its meshes Cardinal Richelieu, the controlling power in far-off France, and thereby shaped the foreign policy of a nation. The men of Canada in all degrees of life were more or less engaged in this enthralling pursuit; even the Jesuit priests were not exempt from the prevailing madness,² and their *donnes*—the Canadian youth reared under priestly surveillance, to assist in the missions—carried the sanction of the church into their favorite occupation.

Louis XIV., while greedy for the profits of this lucrative trade, realized too late its fatal results, the ruin that the all-pervading canker of lawless life and indifference to settled colonization, had created in his great northwest dominion. He strove vainly to stem the tide that threatened to wreck his schemes for rulership in the western world;³ but England, well established by this time, strongly entrenched, and in league with the powerful Iroquois confederacy, snapped her fingers at futile efforts to dislodge her from her share of the beaver traffic.

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 6, 1899.

²Parkman, *Old Regime in Canada*, p. 328.

³*Ibid.*, p. 310.

The inevitable encounter came, and the fall of New France was the result.

The Fox River valley in very early days became a pivotal point towards which the *voyageur*, whether priest, explorer, or *courier de bois*, cast longing eyes. We regard Wisconsin in the seventeenth century as a vast and lonely wilderness, but it was in reality a busy, populous Indian center, where hundreds of Algonkins, driven westward by their untiring enemy, the Iroquois, had found safe haven. Their wigwams, covered with puckaway mats, clustered at desirable points along the waterways; rude fortifications, like those seen formerly at Red Banks, crowned the heights; while scores of dusky hands trapped the beaver and beautiful black otter, and fashioned the skins into clothing or curtains to hang before the door of the lodge.

It is Father Vimont who writes, in 1643,¹ that Jean Nicolet, interpreter for the Hundred Associates, had nine years previous penetrated farther westward than any other Frenchman; and then follows that curious relation of how Nicolet, bound for the China sea, sailed instead into our own Green Bay, and beached his canoe upon the sandy shore of Fox River. Twenty years later Radisson and Groseilliers paddled their birch canoe up and down the winding rivers of Wisconsin, and Radisson's pen picture of a Wisconsin winter in 1658,² thrills the reader of today as it did the listener of 250 years ago when "there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost" weighting the great pine trees, that the forest was dark at noonday; and shrunken by bitter cold and famine they did eat their own dogs, and the hides of the very peltries they had risked life to gain.

The trading posts were at first merely encampments, the Frenchmen often taking possession of an Indian wigwam, or a corner of the great lodge; but soon, cabins surrounded by a strong stockade became a necessity, and superseded the more primitive style of dwelling. In these the *coureur de bois* stored

¹*Relations des Jesuites*, 1643.

²*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 79.

his furs until such time as he saw fit to return to the home colony. Sometimes, as at the De Pere rapids, the mission house was combined with a trading post, and formed a little knot of buildings.

During the years between 1661 and 1694, the fur trader most closely identified with the Fox River valley was Nicolas Perrot, giver of the famous ostensorium to the Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier, at De Pere. He stands forth as Wisconsin's first governor, for in 1685 he received a commission from De la Barre, governor of New France, with absolute command from Baye des Puants to the Mississippi.¹ It was necessary that a man be placed here with influence sufficient to muster an Indian army, with diplomacy to outwit the Ottawa envoys of the English and endowed with a sort of desperate bravery such as "travellers between life and death" were forced to possess in those troublous times. Perrot's headquarters were at St. Francis Xavier, and here he gave audience to the Indians of the vicinity. His labors were varied and arduous. The Bay Indians were not navigators, except for short distances; and when a campaign was on foot against the Iroquois, Perrot must not only arouse the war spirit of the braves to a proper pitch, but must also undertake the more difficult work of urging the squaws to the task of fashioning canoes for the expedition—the bark to be stripped from the trees, carefully shaped, sewed, and pitched.

In contrast to the staunch Perrot, appears in our early history at this period, the figure of a more typical *coureur de bois*, Grey-solon Du Luth, brave, reckless, unscrupulous, accused even of bargaining with the English when it was to his profit but ready to fight to the death for France, when at last, war was declared between the two nations. He descended upon the Recollet Father Hennepin, in bondage to the Sioux Indians, like a veritable good Samaritan in buckskin suit and tasseled cap; took Hennepin under his powerful protection, and piloted him safely

¹Tailhan's *Perrot*.

to the Green Bay post;¹ but there they parted company, for Du Luth was under ban for illicit fur trading, and powerful though he was in influence dared not risk the accumulated wrath of his government by a return to the home colony.

In the decade between 1680-90 the English made desperate efforts to direct the beaver traffic to Albany, rather than Montreal. Not so desirable as comrades, they were deemed better paymasters than the French, and intercepting the fur fleets after they had left Michilimackinac, would by generous reward prevail on the occupants to barter away their valuable cargoes. This system of poaching on what the Frenchman considered his especial preserve, caused most bitter feeling between the governors of New France and Manhattan.

In 1686, Marquis Denonville writes: "It is only necessary to ask you again, what length of time we occupy these posts and who discovered them—you or we ? Again, who is in possession of them ? Read the fifth article of the treaty of neutrality, and you will see if you were justified in giving orders to establish your trade at Missilimaquina."

Very cold and sarcastic is Governor Dongan's reply to this most "reflecting and provoking letter." "You tell me of your having had missionarys among them (the western Indians), itt is a very charitable act, but I am well assured gives no just right or title to the government of the Country—Father Bryare writes to a gent: that the King of China never goes anywhere without two Jesuits with him ; I wonder why, you make not like pretence to that kindome."²

So the furious letters passed to and fro until war, bitter, unrelenting, was the result. It is an interesting and involved study of cause and effect, this fur trade tangle in the seventeenth century, with Mackinac and the Green Bay waterway the goal of desire for two great nations; and while "Peiter Schuyler took examinacöns of ye antientest traders In Albany how many

¹Hennepin's *Nouvelle Decouverte*, 1698.

²*Documentary History of New York*, i, pp. 264, 270.

yeares agon they or any others had first traded with ye Indiyans yt had ye Straws and Pipes thro' their noses and the ffarther Indiyans,"¹ Nicolas Perrot, trusted emissary of New France, was speeding his canoe toward these same "ffarther Indiyans," only to find that in his absence the savages had burned the mission house at Rapides des Pères, and that his accumulated stock of valuable peltries, representing his entire fortune, was destroyed.² Truly the lot of a fur-trading diplomat was a difficult one.

The years following, up to 1764, represent an interesting and thrilling period of Western history—the courageous and useless effort of the brave Fox nation to bar from white man's invasion the Fox-Wisconsin highway. A French fort was established at La Baye.³ In 1760 it was garrisoned by the English. Times were too troublous for the fur trade to make progress. War was on between France and England, in which the Indian took part. Still an ally of the French, he had been rendered treacherous by false promises, and no white man's scalp was quite safe when a band of redskins was around.

In 1745, Augustin de Langlade, long a trader at Mackinac, made bold to establish a post at Green Bay.⁴ It was the earliest decided effort at colonization—hardly that, at first, for Langlade's family remained at Mackinac; not until 1763 did he with his son Charles make La Baye their permanent home. And now begins the period of Acadian life in Green Bay's history. Snug little log houses sprang up along the river bank, with neat gardens attached, filled with all sorts of succulent products. Corn was the staple, while the bringing of the first apple tree by Madame Amable Roy, was an event worthy of chronicle. Until within very recent years the ridges of these extensive cornfields furrowed the commons surrounding Green Bay. A simple, kindly gayety permeated the *habitant's* life—

¹*Documentary History of New York*, i, pp. 264, 270.

²La Potherie; also, Hebbard's *Wisconsin under French Dominion*.

³Charlevoix's *Historie de la N. France*, v, 432

⁴"Grignon's Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii.

the fiddle and the bow held sway at social gatherings, and the Indians, at peace with their Canadian neighbors, became their servants to fetch and carry, and to bring provender from forest and river.

There were no religious services held here, except by some visiting priest; the little children, we are told, were taken a canoe voyage to Mackinac to be baptized and then the legend remains of a large white cross erected on the west side of the river, by an itinerant missionary, where the people would gather at stated intervals to say their prayers.

Charles de Langlade acted as magistrate and law giver, and under his rule such pleasures as May Day dances around a flower-decked pole were in vogue.¹ After Judge Reaume migrated to Green Bay, marriage contracts were made out in due form, with many witnesses to attest their validity, and an after-touch of feasting and jollity.

One subject of absorbing interest dominated the French creole's life, and seems to form the sole incentive to letter writing in these primitive times—the fur trade, always the fur trade, its ebb and its flow. The event of the year was the coming of the *voyageurs* from far Montreal, in the autumn, when the *habitants* would gather on the sand-point below Charles de Langlade's house, where the electric power house stands today, to watch the batteaux sweep in from the bay. Amidships sat the manager of the expedition, an autocrat whose word was law, while the crew formed in their gay toggery a bit of vivid color seen from far away. The paddles struck the water in sharp and perfect time to the song that rose and fell—of how Michel climbed a tree and fell down, or of two cavaliers who journeyed in company, one on foot and the other on horseback—the chorus endless in repetition, unmeaning to our prosaic minds, but the music, with its wild thrilling cadences, would charm the heart out of the listener and make the tears start. It was the air to which was sung the couplet describing the two cavaliers, ambitious to

¹“Grignon's Recollections.”

see life, that captivated Tom Moore, the poet, and inspired the "Canadian Boat Song," so familiar in the early half of the present century:

"Row, brothers, row; the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near, and the daylight is past."

John Jacob Astor and his Southwest Company had early in the century begun operations in Green Bay.¹ The Astor company dovetailed into the customs of the habitants, as though to the manner born. Ramsay Crooks, Wilson P. Hunt, and Robert Stuart were veterans along fur-trading lines, and were hand-and-glove with John Lawe, the extensive Grignon connection, and the Porliers.

The War of 1812 parts like a wedge this happy, careless existence from the period of American colonization. The traders hurried their goods to Canada, and Astor wrote Jacob Franks in 1810 that trade threatened to be entirely ruined.² The ensuing four years meant hard sledding indeed, for the Green Bay *habitant*. The royalists levied on everything available to support life, soldiers were quartered on property that met with their approval, and when peace was declared the dwellers in the Fox River valley cared little which government came into power.

There was considerable friction at first, for American methods were directly opposed to English rule; but again the fur trade, Green Bay's staple industry, revived, and the long black pointed batteaux of the American Fur Co.,—for Astor had thus rechristened his monopoly,³—once more plied between Mackinac and the Bay.

The American government, however, did not propose to allow the profits of the fur trade to be swallowed up by a private corporation. Accordingly, an agent or factor was placed at Fort Howard, with instructions to divert at least a portion of the trade into the government coffers. It is amusing to run over

¹ Wis. Hist. Colls., ii, p. 101.

² *Historic Green Bay*, p. 138.

³ Turner's "Fur Trade in Wisconsin," *Proc. Wis. His. Soc.*, 1889.

the official records and note how the well-meant efforts of this unfortunate deputy, Maj. Matthew Irwin, were frustrated by the crafty resident traders; but it was a serious matter at the time, and has gone into no less an authority than the *American State Papers*. Major Irwin lured the Indians by every known method. They accepted his gewgaw presents, they partook of his good cheer, they brought him hundreds of mococks of maple sugar which he feared to offend them by refusing, but not a beaver, otter, or raccoon skin would they fetch to his door, not even the red deer, unprized though it was by the fur company. In 1815, the amount of merchandise sent to the factory was \$15,784.44. Not a single skin was brought in that year; the following season not quite so large a stock of goods, and only muskrat hides to show for it; and so on, until the factory was discontinued in 1819. One of the best documents of the time is a report by that Trojan among fur traders, Ramsay Crooks,¹ concerning the government factory system, for the furious charges made by Major Irwin brought about official investigation of fur-trading methods at Green Bay. Crooks points out that the factor rarely meets the Indians, except during the process of barter, and, protected by a garrison, has nothing to apprehend from their dislike or resentment; while the private trader, constantly in the power of the aborigines, becomes identified with the tribe he traffics with. He adds that "the factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians, unless the Committee should be of opinion that men and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, Glauber salts, alum and antibilious pills are necessary to promote the comfort or restore the health of the Aboriginees; or green silk fancy ribands, and morocco slippers are indispensable to eke out the dress of our red sisters."

It was not only in fur trading circles that the American occupation worked up a terrible muddle. Creole holders of real es-

¹*Amer. State Papers*, Indian Affairs, ii, p. 329.

tate were threatened with the confiscation of their property,¹ while in the first U. S. court,² Judge Doty, by his initial decree annulling marriages solemnized according to the Indian custom, bid fair to uproot family ties, and cause a general social upheaval.

The letters of the fur traders at this period reflect a decided tightness in the money market. One of the head merchants complains that times are so hard he has no money to buy wine, and has "even been oblig'd to dispense with whiskey and suffice myself with humble St. Terrance (water) not that it satisfies me."³ Another, giving orders to his deputy at one of the jack-knife trading posts, lays down this general rule: "Mix your whiskey half and half to give away; for sale one third water will be sufficient. Give no credit; if done at all, it must be with great caution."

At the Grand Kakalin, Augustin Grignon exercised patriarchal rule, at the same time carrying on large trading interests; and at the same place was the trading house of Colonel Ducharme, that gallant figure in Creole tradition. So proud was the Colonel, that when he stepped forth dressed in his English uniform the *habitants* would whisper to one another with sly winks and nudges, "He thinks no doubt to open St. Peter's gate with that grand air, and the words, 'I am Col. Ducharme.' "

The John Lawe trading house was still the center of Indian traffic at Green Bay, the business a marvel of intricate bargain and sale; and it is interesting to note that during Lawe's frequent absences at Indian payments or on journeys eastward, his daughter, Rachel Lawe, managed the extensive business to the entire satisfaction of its head. Judge Lawe would write minute and complicated directions, which he designated as "merely a guide," and Rachel, clever girl that she was, would carry them out to the letter.⁴

¹*Amer. State Papers*, Public Lands, iv.

²*Address of Hon. M. L. Martin before State Hist. Soc.*, 1851.

³MS. Letter of Jacob Franks to John Lawe, May, 1822.

⁴MS. "Memorandum for Miss Rachel Lawe."

A serious question for discussion in fur trading circles was how to control the unmanageable *engagee*, that irresponsible, improvident rogue; and in 1832 Robert Stuart wrote to Morgan L. Martin, at that time a member of the Michigan legislature, asking that he introduce a bill to have the whipping post revived, especially for the drubbing of these refractory servants.¹

By 1824, a new element had come into Canadian life at La Baye. The families of Irwin, Baird, and Whitney, well-born and well-bred, brought Eastern refinements into the frontier town, yet identified themselves in a social way with the French pioneers. Fort Howard had become an important feature in Green Bay annals, and adds another touch of color to the fascinating and varied picture of life in the twenties. The military officers were here today and gone tomorrow; but while they stayed they "made things hum" in old Green Bay, and when an epidemic of small pox threatened the little village, and Fort Howard insisted on quarantine, consternation was deep and general. Every one seems to have been young, in those bright days. If there was old age, its shadow is not reflected in the records of the time. It was all life and enthusiasm, the beginnings of things in our State. An instance of the prevailing youth among prominent men of the time is shown in the fact that Judge Doty was only twenty-three years old when he presided at his first term of court in Mackinac.

In 1834 Astor retired on his millions, leaving to Green Bay hundreds of acres of unproductive lands, the property of the American Fur Company. The frequent call made through fur traders' letters for loans, sometimes for hundreds, sometimes for larger amounts, had met quick response from the company, until gradually the great monopoly swallowed up the bulk of lands owned by pioneer traders. The fur trade, with its easy profits, exercised the same malign influence in the nineteenth as in the seventeenth century. It paralyzed other industries. The profits grew less yearly, the business more diffused. The trad-

¹ *Historic Green Bay*, p. 269.

ing house interfered with the country store to such an extent that the merchants complained of unequal competition, and more or less every store in Green Bay traded in peltries and made what profit they could in the sale of furs.

The Fox River valley, in the days of the fur trade, was a different world from the Fox River valley of today; and, in running over the manuscripts of those days we live in a past that could never by any possibility be revived. A life where ease and comfort counted for more than the accumulation of wealth, it was by no means the idle, care-free existence that the hustler of today regards it. The fur-trader's interests were as far reaching as those of any modern capitalist; his corps of underlings as carefully trained to their work as experts of the present time; profit and loss were as minutely noted; but it was a business that fluctuated with the season and that was certain to decrease with the passing years. While it brought Green Bay into prominence, it weighted her with old fur-trading traditions and methods of doing business, and the tide of enterprise and modern industries failed to get footing here as promptly as in Oshkosh and other cities in the Fox River valley. It reached the gate to the Fox-Wisconsin highway in due time, however; and when the great bare Astor warehouse, where the laden boats discharged their cargoes in the old days, burned some twenty years ago, the flames swept away almost the last remaining vestige of a power that influenced above all else the early history of Green Bay and the Fox River valley.

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF GREEN BAY.¹

BY WILLIAM L. EVANS.

Leaving out of consideration the traditions of inter-tribal Indian warfare, the military history of Green Bay may be said to have begun when Jean Nicolet, in October of 1634, landed at the mouth of the Fox River, and, stepping out of his canoe "with all the dignity of an ambassador, advanced slowly, discharging at the same time two small pistols, which he held in either hand."² Wisconsin was at this time the home of a number of small Indian tribes, driven hither evidently by the powerful Iroquois on the east and the Sioux on the west. The absence of powerful Indian nations, and the presence of lesser tribes of divergent interests, had a controlling effect upon the opening of this section to the forces of civilization.³ Nicolet came to Green Bay with a few Huron Indians for the purpose of adjusting troubles between the Hurons and the Winnebagoes, or Puants, and the peace he seems to have established is significant of the future contact of the white man and the red at this point.

The next white visitors to Green Bay, or, as it was then called, La Baye, were Radisson and Groseilliers in 1658; but, like Nicolet, these adventurous spirits only came and went. Next came the Jesuit missionary and the French fur-trader, the former destined to make little impress on the savage, but most powerfully to effect the opening of civilization, and the latter

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 6, 1899.

²Neville and Martin, *Historic Green Bay*, p. 12.

³See Turner's "Fur Trade in Wisconsin."



RUINS OF FORT HOWARD

Taken about 1865, from top of grain elevator.

to influence even more potently the future of the country. The *voyageur*, the *coureur de bois*, and the devoted disciples of Loyola needed little military protection from the Indian, and the English had not yet pushed into these domains of New France.

In 1665, Nicolas Perrot came to La Baye as an independent trader. In 1685, for his sterling worth, tact and good judgment in dealing with the Indians, he was made commander-in-chief at La Baye, with a commission giving him authority in a most indefinite way over the regions farther west, and also all those he might discover.¹ Under this blanket commission, Nicolas Perrot, with a mere handful of men, half soldiers, half traders, assumed military command over a region greater many times in size than France itself.

As yet there are no sources of authority from which we can determine the time of the first building of a fort at the Lower Fox. There was probably a palisaded enclosure at the mission of St. Francis, at De Pere, even in Perrot's time; but not before 1721 do we know of a fort at La Baye. At that time Charlevoix was here with M. de Montigny, and they were royally entertained at the French fort on the west bank of the Fox, half a league from its mouth.²

The early wars against the Fox and Sac Indians afford almost the only example of serious conflicts between the French and Indians. These tribes, unlike the Menomonees, or Folles Avoines, looked with disfavor upon the whites, and were ready to seize every opportunity to annoy the traders and hamper the fur trade. In 1716, Lieutenant de Louvigny led an attack on the Foxes. The French went from La Baye some thirty-five or forty miles up the river, and defeated the Foxes after a three-days' siege. The two expeditions of De Lignery, commandant at Michillimackinac, occurred in 1726 and 1728.³ In

¹Tailhan's *Perrot*, pp. 138, 303; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 363.

²*Historic Green Bay*, p. 81.

³*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 21-23; x, pp. 53, 365.

June of the former year he effected a sort of peace at La Baye with the Foxes, Sacs and Winnebagoes. The Indians appear to have wished to have a regular French officer located at this point, but it is suggested in a contemporary document that the commandant would not favor this, as it would injure his private interests.

De Lignery was again at Fort St. Francis, at the mouth of the river, on the 17th of August, 1728. The fort was then in charge of a commandant and soldiers. After pretty effectually subjugating the Foxes, temporarily at least, with his 400 French soldiers and 1,000 Iroquois Indians, De Lignery, on his return to Fort St. Francis in the same year, destroyed it, "because, being so near the enemy, it would not afford a secure retreat to the French who must be left as a garrison." This act, probably ill-advised, shows the military hold of the French to have been very insecure at this time, although the traders were carrying on extensive operations in spite of the lack of military protection.

With the coming to La Baye, about 1745, of the De Langlades, Augustin and Charles, a continuous and connected history begins. Nicolet, Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin, Perrot, Allouez, Radisson, Groseilliers, De Louvigny and De Lignery pass before us in a shadowy and picturesque unreality. The De Langlades, while not less picturesque, identified themselves with the country, in time took land, built homes, reared families, and left a lasting impress. It is very probable that the elder De Langlade was with De Lignery's expeditions to La Baye.¹ If he were not, he in any event heard of the beautiful country of the Folles Avoines. Augustin Grignon, in his "Recollections," does not remember that his grandfather, Charles de Langlade, ever told him whether or not the fort at La Baye was garrisoned when he came.² A list of the upper French forts in 1754 refers to La Baye and its dependencies. La Baye then

¹"Grignon's Recollections," pp. 197, 199.

²*Ibid.*, p. 200.

had one officer, a sergeant, and four soldiers. Eighteen thousand dollars' worth of Indian goods were sent annually to this point, and the post afforded Messrs. Rigaud and Marin 312,000 francs for the years 1754-57. Bellin refers to the fort here in 1751, simply as "the French fort," and Palairret calls it Fort Sakisda, or Fort of the Sauks.¹

It is interesting to note La Baye's relations to the forces that were working out world problems in the French and Indian War. Coulon de Villiers, at one time commandant at La Baye, defeated George Washington at Fort Necessity. Of Charles de Langlade's activity in that war, and of his great value to the French, more and more is coming to light. From 1752 to 1760 he was constantly on the move, recruiting Indians and Canadians at Green Bay and elsewhere, for service in the East. In July, 1755, he arrived at Fort Du Quesne with a band of Indians, French and Canadians, including his nephew, Charles Gauthier de Verville, and other residents of La Baye. On the ninth of the month they met Braddock at the Monongahela. The French force was from a thousand to fifteen hundred strong. Beaujeu was in command, but De Langlade was the moving spirit, and only after the most urgent solicitations could he persuade Beaujeu to act. Sweeping down upon the English at their meal time, they drove them back in dismay, many rushing into the river and drowning rather than meet death at the hands of the howling demons, and being found there later with their napkins still at their breasts. It is remarkable that De Langlade's part in this action has remained in such obscurity. The French gave him the honor of the victory, and an English officer in Burgoyne's army in 1777 refers to him as the one who "planned and executed the defeat of Braddock."² Continuing to make Green Bay his headquarters, he was frequently in the East with his lieutenants and their bands of Menomonees, Foxes, Sacs, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies. They did remarka-

¹L. C. Draper, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 365.

²*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 130-133.

ble work at the siege of Fort George, and in 1759 fought upon the Plains of Abraham. The next year saw the surrender of Montreal, the fall of New France, and the beginning of English dominion in Wisconsin.

It seems altogether probable that to a fear of change in customs, habits, and manner of life and trade, rather than to a fear of the mere allegiance to another power over the sea, is to be attributed the tenacity of the trader, the settler, and the Indian in the contest against the arms of England. We can imagine the melancholy and the disgust with which La Baye looked upon the collapse of New France and the coming of the English. But the result was not so disastrous to their old life as they had expected. The military history of Green Bay is not its most vital or significant history. The successive waves of civilization, French, English and American, which rolled up against the savage nations at this point, did not meet strong resistance. The Frenchmen, whether *voyageur*, *coureur de bois*, or established trader, became one with the Indian. They influenced and changed the savage. They made him an equal socially, and a dependent economically and industrially.

The interests of England being identical with those of France, the transfer of allegiance of the inhabitants, and the establishment of English power, were neither complicated nor troublesome. The De Langlades went to Michillimackinac in 1761, took the oath of allegiance to England, and Charles was made superintendent of Indian affairs for the Green Bay division. French subjects retained all their old civil and religious privileges. The great affairs of the world were of small moment to these people. Their object was not exploration, nor exploitation, nor the building of a state, but simply the preservation of hunting and the fur trade. Content to be ruled from Europe they had no hope nor desire for independent political existence, and outside forces acted slowly here. But they were consistent; and the Green Bay trader, whether fighting against the English and the colonies in 1760, or against the colonists

during the Revolution, or lightly shaking off the American authority in 1812 and rejoining the English, was always fighting for the old fashioned fur trade and its easy, hap-hazard mode of existence. Little law, large profits, and much rum satisfied Indian and trader. The English adopted French methods of treating the Indian.

The English of Green Bay were not the English of the seaboard. English fur companies operated along French lines, and not along the traditional English colonization lines of permanent occupation, stable government, and haughty indifference to the natives.

The surrender of Montreal in 1760 was the real ending of the French and Indian War. The treaty, however, which was to fix the territorial results of the war, by which France lost the entire Northwest, "which always caused Count de Vergennes to shudder whenever he thought of it, and that called out explosions of volcanic wrath from the first Napoleon," was not signed until 1763, at which time British military occupation of Green Bay had not only begun, but was just ending in the departure of Lieutenant Gorrell.

The English troops, under Captain Belfour, came to Green Bay on the twelfth of October, 1761, and took possession of Fort St. Francis, which they found "quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover," and which they repaired and renamed Fort Edward Augustus.¹ On the fourteenth, Captain Belfour departed and left Lieut. James Gorrell in command, with a sergeant, a corporal, and fifteen privates, a French interpreter, and two English traders. The presence of these traders and Sir William Johnson's remark to Gorrell, that unless he did his best to please the Indians he had better not go, shows a purpose to protect and promote trade. Gorrell was much hampered by the scanty allowance of presents for the Indians made him by the authorities, but he ingeniously restrung and rearranged the wampum received from visiting chieftains,

¹"Gorrell's Journal," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 26.

and presented it to others when the English supply ran low. "Nothing material happened," says Gorrell, "from this till the May ensuing. We mostly busied ourselves during the winter in repairing the fort, houses, etc."¹ It was a dismal winter at this little post, where less than a score of men were representing English power and holding Wisconsin and the West for King George.

In a council held with the chiefs of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes on May twenty-third, 1762, the mutual desire of Englishman and Indian for trade relations appears. Gorrell said to the natives with interesting naiveté: "I hope to open a passage to your hearts so that you may always speak honestly and truly * * * and that you may, like your brothers, the English, think of good things only. * * * He [the King] hath also recommended it to all his subjects who are come amongst you to trade, to bring whatever necessaries you may want, and save you the trouble of going so far yourselves; in consequence I have brought one along with me, who, you'll find will use your people well and sell everything as cheap as possible to them."² The Menomonees answered in promises of obedience and friendship, declaring that they "are glad to welcome English traders." Gorrell makes the surprising statement that there were dependent upon his post at La Baye for supplies, 39,100 warriors, besides women and children. In the list which he gives, however, of the numbers of the different tribes, it is to be noted that of these 30,000 were "Sous" west of the Mississippi, and "near 300 leagues off," who were in all probability very little concerned with their dependence upon Fort Edward Augustus.

During Pontiac's War the fort at Michillimackinac was captured, and Colonel Etherington taken prisoner. Through De Langlade's efforts he was rescued, but the uprising took such proportions that it was decided to abandon the West, and Gorrell was ordered to leave Fort Edward Augustus. On June twenty-

¹ "Gorrell's Journal," p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

first, 1763, the troops, with a party of Menomonee, Sac, Winnebago, and Fox Indians left the fort, and as the bateaux and canoes passed down the Fox and out into Green Bay, only four months after the treaty of Paris had given New France to England, British occupation of Green Bay ended. Joined by the remnant from Mackinac, they reached Montreal in August.

On May twentieth, 1778, Major de Peyster, British commandant at Mackinac, writes to Gen. Sir Guy Carleton that Mr. Langlade has just written him that affairs go very slowly at La Baye.¹ This seems to have been the general movement from 1763 until the close of the American Revolution. Few new traders and fewer settlers came. "At the time Carver was at Fort La Baye, September eighteenth, 1766, there was no garrison there, nor had it been kept in repair since it had been abandoned by Gorrell; a few families lived in the fort, and opposite to it on the east side of the river there were a few French settlers."² During the Revolution, there appears to have been no military operations in or about Green Bay, other than the work of Charles de Langlade and his nephew, Charles Gauthier de Verville, in mustering and holding in line the Western Indians to oppose the remarkable and energetic campaigns of Col. George Rogers Clark, and his shrewd and clever negotiations with the Indians. We find these two Green Bay men, for instance, on June sixth, 1778, setting out from the Bay with a band of 200 Indian and Canadian recruits.³ And when they cannot persuade the Indians to fight for the Union jack, they do the next best thing and get them to stay at home. April twentieth, 1783, Daniel Robertson, in command at Mackinac, writes that Mr. Langlade, Jr., would immediately set out for Prairie du Chien "in order to dissuade the western Indians who assemble there from coming this length."⁴ The English fully

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 97.

² *Smith's History of Wis.*, i, p. 145.

³ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 110, 111.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

understood the value of these services, and made generous terms with these Green Bay men, though De Peyster wrote on June fourteenth, 1779, that they had high pay and were a burden to him;¹ and Sinclair, his successor at Mackinac, wrote in 1780 what was certainly untrue, that they were men of no understanding, application or steadiness.²

The British maintained that the treaty of 1783 did not determine the right to possession of the Western posts, which they continued to hold; and while Jay's treaty, in 1794, gave the colonies dominion in the West, it was scarcely more than in name. British traders had free intercourse with the savages. English fur companies controlled the trade, and until the close of the War of 1812-15 there was little to mark the change of authority at Green Bay. During that war, the Grignons, John Lawe, Jacob Franks, Langevin, Jean Vieau, and others were in active concert with Robert Dickson, the English Indian agent, and rendered effective service to the British. Green Bay was a base for supplies and Indian allies.³

At the close of the war, the United States determined to have something other than the mere shadowy authority heretofore exercised, and proceeded to garrison the Western posts, the possession of which was so long in dispute. In and around Green Bay there were thousands of savages, a few French, and fewer English, all bitterly antagonistic to the new order of things; the intense natural prejudice of the French and Indians against the Americans having been skilfully intensified by the designing English. The first result of this determination of the American government to protect the inhabitants, insure permanent dominion, and take to itself the fur trade profits hitherto turned into French and English channels, was the arrival in the summer of 1815 of John Bowyer, the first United States Indian Agent for the Green Bay district, and the establishment here

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 135, 139.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-315.

of a government trading post. An interesting chapter in the economic history of Wisconsin is the attempt to control the fur trade by government factors under direct military protection, with headquarters at the fort. No business, however, was diverted from the old channels; and the new American Fur Company, with Astor as the moving spirit, came in and shrewdly followed up the old methods of direct visits to the Indians, extension of credit, and plentiful distribution of whiskey and presents. . It used the old instruments, and assumed the headship and control of the forces already working.

It was not a happy crowd that saw the four vessels of American troops sail into the mouth of the Fox on the seventh of August, 1816. Their disgust was fairly well concealed, however. The French and Indians contrived to give the troops a sort of welcome, through the speech of Nat-aw-pin-daw-quā, a Winnebago chief, delivered to Colonel Bowyer on August 23, 1816, which gives an idea of what was in the Indian mind. . He asks for protection for his French brothers, says that if it is the intention of the Americans to destroy the Indian, he doubts if they will be able; that when the French agent resided among them they were happy, but that the American agents have cheated them.¹

From a letter written by the surgeon who accompanied the troops, we learn that they "sailed from Mackinac on the 23d of July, with the schooners Washington, Wayne and Mink, and the sloop Amelia, having on board Colonel Miller, of the 3d Regiment, Colonel Chambers of the Rifle, Major Gratiot of the Engineers, a detachment of Artillery under Captain Pierce, and four companies of the 3d Infantry, amounting in the whole to 500 men. We entered the mouth of the river on the 7th of August * * * the engineer has finally fixed on the position where the old French fort, La Bay, formerly stood. It will be a stockade with strong pickets, a bastion at each angle, with a piece of artillery on each, amply sufficient to beat off any In-

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 444, 445.

dian force that can be brought against it—the garrison will consist of two companies of infantry, all under the command of Colonel Chambers. * * * Everything at present bears a peaceable aspect, but the storm is murmuring at a distance, which, I am fearful, will, sooner or later, burst on us with all the accumulated horrors of savage vengeance.”¹ From this date until 1841 the fort, now named Fort Howard, in honor of Gen. Benjamin Howard, was continuously garrisoned, with the exception of the time spent at Camp Smith, on the east shore.

The change to American rule was not so disastrous as was expected, and the Green Bay loyalists soon accepted the situation. By an ingenious legal fiction, these rebels who had, joyfully enough, thrown off American authority in 1812, were assumed never to have been rebels, upon taking an oath that they had been compelled to yield to the tyranny of England and its savage allies, because the protection of the American government was withdrawn. When the old private claims on both sides of the Fox River were confirmed to the settlers in 1823, at Detroit, it was necessary for each holder to have two or three neighbors swear to his loyalty to the United States, and his enforced submission to the “tyranny and caprice” of England. It is noticeable, in these confirmations, that the most aggressive in the British cause had no trouble in proving their loyalty to the United States during the struggle.²

Maj. Zachary Taylor, afterward president of the United States, succeeded Colonel Miller; and his daughter, Knox, who became Mrs. Jefferson Davis, was here as a child. In 1819, Colonel Joseph Lee Smith assumed command. Colonel Smith was not satisfied with the location of the fort, and in 1820 had

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 441–443. This letter establishes the time of the landing of the American troops, as August 7. Being a contemporary document, it is no doubt correct. Augustin Grignon (in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 281) says it was July 16; and James H. Lockwood (*Id.*, ii, p. 104) puts it in July—both of them spoke from memory.

² *Amer. State Papers*, Public Lands, iv, pp. 704, 709.

it removed to the other side of the river, some three miles further up stream, and on high ground a half mile back from the river. This was at what was subsequently called Shantytown. Old residents at Green Bay were wont to say that it was John Lawe's desire to have the fort located upon his own lands, and his continual representations of it as the more desirable location, which influenced the officer rather than real military advantage. However, the garrison was back at Fort Howard in 1822; Camp Smith, which had been named in honor of the commanding officer, being abandoned. In 1821, Smith had been succeeded by Col. Ninian Pinckney, and in 1822 Col. John McNeil was in command. In 1824 Gen. Hugh Brady commanded, being succeeded the following year by Maj. William Whistler, who, in 1827, led the expedition of volunteers, regulars, and Stockbridge and Oneida Indians against Red Bird. Near the Fox-Wisconsin portage this Indian warrior surrendered to Whistler without battle, though he had previously engaged in several fierce attacks on the whites. Maj. (later General) David E. Twiggs succeeded Whistler. In 1828, Col. William Lawrence came with four companies of the Fifth infantry from Jefferson Barracks through the Fox-Wisconsin portage, not having to unload their boats, the water being unusually high that year.

During the Black Hawk War (1832) the garrison at Fort Howard was under the command of Capt. Nathan Clark. There was little exact information concerning the strength of the Indians, and absurd rumors as to their numbers and vindictive cruelty were rife. That utter dread of an Indian uprising, amounting almost to consternation, which seized the Western settlers, was felt in extreme form here, although the soldiers remained at the fort for the protection of the surrounding inhabitants. The Indian agent, George Boyd, was, however, able to get 300 Menomonees to the front under his predecessor, Col. C. S. Stambaugh, whom they had requested as a leader in the event of their being called on to fight. There were other white officers in the company, as well

as a few volunteers under Robert Irwin, Jr.¹ The war was so soon over, however, that the massacre of a fleeing band of Sacs was the only "service" of this so-called "Stambaugh expedition."

The next year, Black Hawk, now a prisoner, was in Green Bay, coming down the river with the soldiers on his tour to the East.² It is significant that the Americans were able at this time to lead red men into battle against red men; and though personal enmity to the Sacs may have somewhat influenced the Menomonees, it is evident that like objects and aims to the French and English had led the American to the same considerate, conciliatory, non-aggressive treatment of the Indian which was accountable for the seldom-interrupted peace of two centuries which marked the contact of red man and white about the mission, trading station, and military post at La Baye.

Gen. George M. Brooks was in command during the 30's. Bishop Jackson Kemper, in his journal, relates that in the summer of 1834 he dined at the fort with the General. Under date of July 24, he has the following entry: "Dined at Mr. Whitney's at Navarino;" besides others there were "nearly a dozen officers from the garrison in full uniform—pitcher full of lemonade and port, madeira and champagne, wines and roast pig, veal, ham, venison and veal pie—sallid—cranberry (abound here) tarts and floating islands—cheese, raisins, almonds, English walnuts and filberts. The two doctors of the fort drank no wine—have established a Soc. there which now included 80 odd on principle of total abstinence. Lieut. Clary belongs to it likewise."³

¹E. H. Ellis, of Green Bay, and Sam. Ryan, of Appleton, are authority for the statement that the company of white volunteers were raised and commanded by Robert Irwin, Jr. It has usually been stated that they were under Alexander J. Irwin, as in Mrs. Kinzie's *Waubun* and Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay*. Alexander J. Irwin seems to have been a first lieutenant and acting quartermaster in the Indian company under Stambaugh. See "Boyd Papers," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 279.

²*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 226.

³*Ibid.*, xiv, p. 415.

Lieut. Robert E. Clary was first lieutenant in the Fifth infantry from 1833 to 1838. Randolph B. Marcy, who became inspector general of the United States army, was a second lieutenant in the same regiment, and here during the same time. His daughter Ellen became the wife of Gen. George B. McClellan. Most of the under officers at the fort, from 1820 to 1841 were West Pointers, although I believe that no West Pointer except Capt. Moses E. Merrill, who succeeded General Brooks, was ever in command.¹ Social relations between the garrison and the townspeople were most cordial, and brilliant social functions took place in the fort, at the hotels and at the residences of the better class of civilians.

The Fifth infantry went to Florida in 1841, and was subsequently in the Mexican War, our fort being ungarrisoned until 1849. At the battle of Molino del Rey, Capt. Moses E. Merrill, Martin Scott, and Kirby Smith, were killed, and Lieut. (later Colonel) William Chapman was wounded. Martin Scott is probably the most picturesque character of the American occupation. He was a man who thoroughly enjoyed life—a great hunter, a horseman, and a famous shot. Those who knew him here and at Mackinac, still delight to tell stories of his skill; of his throwing two potatoes in the air, and piercing them both with a single shot; of the coon that offered to come down from the tree when it saw Scott below; and of the duel where the generous Martin so skilfully shot away the diseased portion of his adversary's liver as to restore him to better health than he had before known. He never took aim, simply looked at an object, and fired, the butt of the gun at his hip. Rows of dog kennels lined the path to his front door, and out to the southwest

¹ The following list has been prepared by Henley W. Chapman, of Green Bay, from Cullom's *Biographical Register of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy*, and is believed to contain the name of every West Point graduate who was ever stationed at Fort Howard. Many who were cadets at that institution, but did not graduate, were at Fort Howard, and do not appear in this list. John C. Robinson, for instance, who was at the fort in 1839 as a second lieutenant, and later

of the fort was Scott's half-mile race track. In the gentler arts of floriculture and horticulture he was also noted; and flowers, shrubs, and trees transformed his own grounds into a veritable little park.

was a major general in the army, was at West Point for three years, but did not graduate.

Officers Stationed at Fort Howard, Wis., who were Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, from 1820 to 1852.

Name.	Rank while at Fort Howard.	Years at Fort Howard.
Alexander R. Thompson	Br't-Major 6th Inf.....	1826.
Hilary Brunot.....	1st Lt. 3d Inf.....	1820-21.
Henry Smith	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1822.
Benj. L. E. Bonneville	Lt.-Col. 4th Inf.....	1851-52.
Henry H. Loring.....	1st Lt. 3d Inf.....	1820-26.
John B. F. Russell	Capt. 5th Inf.....	1832-33.
Benjamin Walker.....	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1822-23.
Lewis N. Morris	1st Lt. 3d Inf.....	1824-26.
Wm. S. Maitland.....	2d Lt. 4th Art.....	1820-21.
Otis Wheeler	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1821-22; 1823-24.
Henry Brambridge.....	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1821-22.
St. Clair Denny.....	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1828-36.
George Wright	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1822-24; 1826.
David Hunter	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1832-33.
John D. Hopson	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1823-26.
Aaron M. Wright	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1822-23.
Henry Clark.....	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1828-29.
George H. Crossman.....	2d Lt. 6th Inf.....	1823-24.
John W. Cotton	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1824-25.
Edmund B. Alexander	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1825-26.
Egbert B. Birdsall	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1825-26.
Ephraim W. Low.....	2d Lt. 1st Inf.....	1824-25.
Alexander Johnston.....	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1829-30.
Wm. Bloodgood	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1826-28.
Timothy Paige.....	2d Lt. 1st Inf.....	1825.
Wm. R. Montgomery.....	2d Lt. 3d Inf.....	1826.
Gustavus Dorr	2d Lt. 6th Inf.....	1826-27.
James Engle	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1831-33.
Amos B. Eaton	1st Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
Moses E. Merrill	Capt. 5th Inf.....	1832-41.
E. Kirby Smith	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1827-29; 1832-33; 1836-37.
Alexander S. Hooe	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1828-31.
David Perkins.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1829-31.
Alexander J. Center.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1829-31.
Edgar M. Lacey.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1828-29; 1830-31.
Isaac Lynde.....	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1832-37.
Robert E. Clary	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1833-38.
James L. Thompson	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1829-32.
Amos Foster.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1831-32.
Caleb C. Sibley.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1832-36.
Camillus C. Daviess.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1830-31.
George W. Patten.....	1st Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
George W. McClure	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1830-31.
Wm. Chapman	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1833-38.
Horatio P. Van Cleve.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1831.
Charles Whittlesey.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1832.
Lorenzo Sitgreaves	2d Lt. Top. Eng.....	1839-40.
Randolph B. Marcy	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1833-37.
James V. Bomford	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
Henry W. Wessells.....	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
Daniel Ruggles.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1836-37.
James W. Anderson	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
Wm. M. D. McKissack.....	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1835-36.
Marsena R. Patrick	2d Lt. 2d Inf.....	1837.
Joseph H. Whipple	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1837.
Robert A. Wainwright	2d Lt. 5th Inf.....	1835-36.
Samuel Whitehorn.....	1st Lt. 5th Inf.....	1836-37; 1839-40.
Benjamin D. Forsyth	2d Lt. 4th Inf.....	1849-52.
Elisha G. Marshall.....	2d Lt. 4th Inf.....	1850-51.
Henry C. Hodges.....	2d Lt. 4th Inf.....	1851-52.

Old settlers sometimes state that Jefferson Davis was stationed here; but this is not true, although he visited the fort, and on one occasion went deer hunting up Devil River, with Moses Hardwick. The boat was capsized, and Hardwick assisted Davis out; but he used frequently to say that if he could have peered into the future, the waters of the Little Devil River would have ended the career of the future president of the Southern Confederacy.

In the brief occupation of the fort from 1849 to 1851, Col. Francis Lee and Lieut.-Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, both of the Fourth regiment of infantry, were in command. From 1852 forward, the fort was without a garrison. During the War of Secession, a volunteer company was stationed there part of the time, assisting in 1863 in the enforcement of the draft, and holding drafted men there until they were forwarded to the front. Curtis R. Merrill, as provost marshal, was in charge of the draft. There was some opposition to it in the eastern portion of the county, and at one time a party of some two hundred Belgians, among whom were a number of women, came in with pitch-forks, brooms, etc., and were going to lynch Timothy O. Howe, whom they had concluded was responsible for the draft. The Senator came down town and addressed them on Pine street, where they disbanded, no serious consequences following.

The smoothing hand of time, hurried here by the enterprise of railway construction, has obliterated almost every vestige of the old fort and the natural monuments in and about it.¹ In the yards to the north of the Chicago & Northwestern railway station, however,—between the tracks and the bank of Fox River, close to the latter, and due west from Elevator A. of the W. W.

¹For most of the matter with reference to the present remains of the old fort, its condition, and the situation of buildings in its later days, I am indebted to Thomas M. Camm and Henley W. Chapman, of Green Bay, both of whom were born in the old fort (the former in 1828 and the latter in 1837), and to James H. Elmore, who was about the fort more than any other person during its last days and at the time it was being torn down and scattered.

Cargill Co., which stands in the river on piles,—may be seen the stone foundation of the old government (or commissary's) warehouse. This building stood outside the fort stockade, some sixty feet nearer to the river, and just north from the sallyport. It had three stories above the basement. In 1862 and 1863, it was used as a warehouse by Dousman & Elmore, and was later removed by Hiram Cornell to Valentine, Nebraska, where for a time it was used as the county court house and where it was lately still standing. On the river shore a few feet to the south of this old foundation, and in front of where the sallyport used to be, there can be seen at low water the piles of stones which were in the cribs in the foundation of the fort pier. The solitary elm in the railway yards, a short distance to the north of the oil tanks, stood some forty feet from the rear or west side of the stockade, and just south of the commanding officer's quarters. In that level expanse of gravel, ties, and steel rails, with here and there little patches of smoke-begrimed grass, only these three memorials of the past help the old resident to point out and exactly locate the buildings of the fort; and unless other monuments be raised there will soon be nothing to mark the place of the first military occupation of Wisconsin, the post from which France sought to hold half a continent, and around which, as no other, are grouped the significant military facts in our history.

The most of the old stockade, about twelve feet high, consisting of timbers from ten inches to a foot square, and closely set together, with numerous loop-holes, splayed within for observation and for firing, stood until the last. This stockade and the fort buildings were always kept of a dazzling whiteness. The cemetery was at the southwest of the fort, on a sandy knoll which, however, like the surrounding country, was very low. In digging, water was reached a short distance below the surface, and soldiers used to say that they would hate to die at Fort Howard, as it was bad enough to die without being drowned afterward.

Outside the stockade, and some fifty feet to the south stood the square, stone magazine, with metal doors and roof, nothing of

which remains—if we except the key, now in the possession of James H. Elmore. This arrangement of a magazine outside the fort, has been commented on as unusual and unwise. South of this stood the hospital, which has been removed to the north-east corner of Chestnut avenue and Kellogg street, in the city of Green Bay, and is now occupied as a residence. Its eight solid wood pillars, supporting the roof of the deep porch along the entire front; its long sweep of roof running straight down to the top of the first story, broken in front by the three dormer windows of the second story, and in the rear by dormer windows and chimneys; and the panelled doors with frames of colonial effect—all these convey a fair idea of the fort's architecture. The present stanch appearance of the hospital speaks well for its material and workmanship. It was one of the largest and best of the buildings, and in the old days was the scene of many a festivity. Balls were given here by the officers, and its use was also tendered to the town "bloods" for social functions. Presumably there were no patients in those hilarious days. To the rear of this building, and detached from it, fronting on Chestnut avenue and also used as a dwelling, stands what used to be the rear portion of the hospital.

South of the hospital, and at about the point where now stands the express office of the new Chicago & Northwestern railway station, was the surgeons' quarters, occupied by Maj. Ephraim Shaylor, a veteran of the war of 1812-15, when he was in charge of the fort buildings from 1852 until its grant to the railway company. It might be mentioned that at the time the company took possession, in 1862, the fort was intact, and upon the company devolved the task of tearing down, giving away, and peddling out the several buildings. Between 1841 and 1849 also, the fort had not been garrisoned, and Major Shaylor was in charge most of this time. This officer was a rigid Presbyterian, and a nervous, fidgety man. He went with his wife one day, in the later 40's, to visit William Root, who had earlier been

stationed at the fort, but was now settled on a farm north of Duck Creek. There was no bridge, and the Roots used a large boat and a canoe for crossing. The canoe was on the south side, and deciding not to disturb the family to bring the other boat over, Mrs. Shaylor stepped into the canoe and ordered their driver to paddle her over. She was very large; their man was small, and so was the canoe. As they pushed out, her end of the canoe sank, and she went floating down Duck Creek, the expansive folds of her black silk serving to buoy her. Her cries brought out the Root family, and her distracted husband yelled to them, and to the man in the water to save her. She was at last rescued, and proceeded first of all to scold the Major for not coming in for her, and not even wetting the soles of his shoes to save her life. This surgeon's building now stands at 410 Maple avenue, and is a comfortable residence about half the size of the hospital building, and of the same architectural style.

At the southeast corner of Chestnut avenue and Mather street, is the old kitchen of the commanding officer's quarters. This is the only building now in existence which once stood inside the fort stockade. These four are the only remaining buildings of Fort Howard.

While the military history of Green Bay has not been acted on a large stage, it has, like its social and industrial life, been picturesque and romantic, and significant in its effect on present conditions. It has often touched the larger fields of action. The victory at last has been to the hard, practical, busy, nervous people. They have possessed the land, and splendid cities, teeming fields, and rivers of commerce mark their progress. Here Indian, Frenchman, Englishman, and American have struggled, and here each have successively been supreme. In the splendid contest for political and religious freedom, for progress and material development, La Baye had little part; but those here of whatever nation, have ever fought for the fair and fruitful land, the beautiful river, the verdure-set bay, and the old life they loved.



Elevation.



Base.

INSCRIPTION.—“Ce Soleil a este donne par Mr. Nicolas Perrot a la Mission de St. Francois Xavier en la Baye des Puants. 1686.”

THE PERROT OSTENSORIUM

THE EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS IN THE FOX RIVER VALLEY.¹

BY RT. REV. DR. SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER.

The history of the early Jesuit missions in the Fox River valley is well apt to deeply interest the lover of romance, of daring exploits, and of famous discovery among strange lands and peoples. Nor will it affect less deeply the heart of the Christian reader, as he follows with a watchful eye the hard labors, untold sufferings, and persevering struggles of the black-gown in his noble purpose of bringing the joys and blessings of Christ to the pagan Indian. Leaving behind the pleasures, religious and social, intellectual and literary, the comforts of family, home, and country, our missionaries had come from "La belle France" across the wide sea, to the as yet forlorn outposts of European civilization in Canada; and thence, in frail birch canoes, with none but savage men as guides and companions, rode up the great waters of the West, to visit the many Indian tribes and nations of whom the early French traders had brought the first news. They did not come as royal commissioners, to conquer nations for the king of France, but as apostles of Christ to gather them into his spiritual kingdom. They had no material arms or weapons, no military force for attack or defence; their only help and strength was the all powerful love of God for His children of the wild forests, an unfailing trust in the Holy Spirit leading them on. Their aim was not to

¹Address at the unveiling by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, September 6, 1899, of the monument at De Pere, on the site of Father Claude Allouez's Jesuit Mission.

gather gold and riches, either for themselves or the religious community to which they belonged, but to gain immortal souls for God. Such was the object of the men who came two hundred years ago to the shores of La Baye des Puants and the beautiful Fox River, to preach the gospel of redemption. They were members of the Jesuit order, at that time a young organization, and in the spirit of obedience went wherever the word of their superior sent them.

It is undoubtedly matter of deep regret that but scant information is left us of their work in these parts of the country. All we know of the earliest Jesuit missionaries must be gathered from their reports, only partly published in the magnificent *Relations des Jésuites*; for it may be surmised that a great part of them are still hidden away and forgotten in some unexplored archives. Even the information we have, is not always definite or certain. What gives rise to these historic doubts, is—on the one hand our own imperfect knowledge of the places, land and water; the location and distances of the tribes,—their homes, if so we may call them, and habits, their mutual relations, their wanderings, in fact their whole history. On the other hand, the missionaries labored under similar disadvantage; their statements are often based on unreliable pieces of Indian reports or hearsay, or on surmises and conclusions drawn from insufficient data. Again, the Jesuit *Relations* do not give us a consecutive history of the missions, and it is often impossible to see the connecting link between one event and another, or to know with any kind of certainty what has happened in the intervening time between two facts narrated in the same story. Again, it sometimes happens that the expression and phrase employed, is in itself doubtful and open to different interpretations. To give a simple example: An Indian village is said to be on the “right shore” of the river. Unless the context explain the meaning, we are left to guess whether it is the shore to the right of the narrator as he passes up or down the river, or to the right of the river’s course following its waters. Again, what is the exact

length of the missionary's league?—as, for example, when Allouez tells us that the Menomonees are located on their river eight leagues from his cabin? Thus a great amount of doubtful matter is left for the critical scrutiny of the historian. These few remarks apply fully to the early missionary of the Fox River valley, as will appear in the course of this paper.

The first black-gown to set foot on the soil where the ever young ripples of the old Fox River greet the city of Green Bay, was Father Claude Allouez. Coming from Quebec, he landed on the shores of the bay, the second of December, 1669. The next day, on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit apostle of Japan, the holy sacrifice of the mass was for the first time offered up in this section of Wisconsin. Here at the very start arises the question, not yet fully settled, on what side of the river or the bay stood the missionary's cabin, which was in a sense the first Christian church or house of worship in or about Green Bay.

This mission became at once the Christian headquarters of the 600 Indians, Sacs, Pottawottomies, Outagamies, and Winnebagoes, living in the neighborhood. With these Indians were only about eight white men, French traders. Gradually the work was extended along the shores of the bay, and farther up the river.

From the narrative of Allouez's missionary work, carefully written by Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, for many years a Franciscan missionary among our Chippewas, and now on the missions in California, we gather the following: During the winter of 1669, Allouez remained at St. Francis, that is, the Green Bay mission. The coming spring, on April 16th he started up the Fox River, sailed through Lake Winnebago, which he called "Lake St. Francis," and going six miles up the Wolf River, came to a village of the Outagamies, where he started St. Mark's mission. He remained but two days, and returning followed the Upper Fox River till on the thirtieth of April he reached a village of Mascoutins, among whom he established St. James's mission,

some nine miles this side of Portage City. On the eighth of May next we find him preaching to the Menomonees at the mouth of "their river," thus establishing the mission of St. Michael. Two other missions among the Menomonees were started by him in places which probably correspond to the present villages of Pensaukee and Suamico, in Oconto county. A similar work was accomplished the same year among the Pottawottomies on the eastern shore of the bay, near the present "Clay Banks," and among the Sacs four leagues up the Fox River. In the fall of the same year, Allouez again visited the St. James mission among the Mascoutins, in company with Father Dablon, superior of these Western missions, who had come from Quebec. It was probably after the latter's return, that he sent Father Louis André, who came before winter set in to assist Allouez in the care of the missions.

A singular change took place the next year, in 1671. The mission, we are told, was moved five miles up the river. It would be most interesting indeed, to know the reasons of such a change. But no answer is given to the query. The exact site of the new mission house has also been disputed. Father Verwyst, in a letter of October 15, 1891, says, however, that "Charlevoix's map, in fact all ancient maps, locate the mission of St. Francis Xavier on the east side of Fox River, where De Pere now stands. Tradition says it was at the foot of the bluff on the flat near the river. There is no particle of doubt, but that the old mission was at De Pere, on the east side of the river, and not on the opposite shore."

Our curiosity turns still to another point. After the transfer of the mission headquarters to the rapids at De Pere, what became of the first mission near the mouth of the river? It appears that for fully fifty years no further mention is made of it, until Charlevoix informs us that when he visited Green Bay in 1721, "the missionary resided quite near the commandant of the fort situated on the west shore of the Fox river, half a league from its mouth." Certain it is, that from 1671 the missionaries

resided for many years at De Pere, which was still called "St. Francis Xavier Mission at the Bay des Puants," as clearly appears from the inscription on Perrot's ostensorium.

Another interesting event took place in June, 1673, when Father Jacques Marquette and Monsieur Louis Joliet passed through here on their way to the Mississippi. Broken in health, Marquette returned in September of the same year, and remained at De Pere till the fall of 1674, during which time he undoubtedly gave what help he could in ministering to the spiritual needs of the two thousand Christian Indians connected with the Green Bay mission.

Was Allouez still there at that time, or was André now alone? For in 1676 we find Allouez engaged in the Illinois mission of Kaskaskia, founded by Father Marquette. How long did André stay? Again we do not know. But in 1676 we find Father Charles Albanel, now superior of the Western missions, in charge of St. Francis Xavier at De Pere, where he built a beautiful chapel or church, really the first church properly so called. This fact goes to show that notwithstanding the great difficulties and the continual opposition or rather persecution from pagan Indians, and the burning down of the mission cabin, the missionary work nevertheless went steadily on. It was to this church, which he had helped to build, that the celebrated Nicolas Perrot donated in 1686 the famous silver ostensorium, the most precious relic of these early missions, dug up at De Pere in the year 1802, and now preserved by our State Historical Society.

In 1680, Father Albanel was succeeded by Father John Enjalran, who also resided at De Pere. During his administration, stormy and troubled clouds rose over the mission, as war broke out among the different Indian tribes. Again the church and house were destroyed by fire, during the missionary's absence. How long Enjalran remained, is not known. The last we hear of him is in 1700, when he stayed at Mackinac. But nothing more is said of St. Francis mission until we find again in 1721, on the first consecrated spot, a Catholic chapel with Rev. Jean

Baptist Chardon residing near the fort at Gren Bay. What has become of the De Pere mission? Was it moved back to Green Bay? Or was it given up altogether? Did the fathers give up their residence at the Bay, when the church at De Pere had been destroyed, and go back to Mackinac, from there to come only for an occasional visit? What became of the other missions on the Wolf and the Upper Fox, and along the two shores of the Bay? Were these also abandoned? In view of the wars continually going on at that period between the Indians and the French, and among the Indians themselves, this is not impossible, and would explain the silence about those missions.

But what became of Father Chardon's mission? How long did Green Bay see the missionary among its tents and cabins? Here again is a long blank on the page of our missionary story. Father Verwyst says, that "the same year (1721) Father Chardon was sent to the Illinois. He was the last Jesuit father that resided at Green Bay, of whom we have any authentic account." For the latter part of the eighteenth century we have Augustin Grignon's statement: "I am perfectly satisfied that from the first settling in Green Bay in 1745 till Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit visited it in 1820, no missionaries could have been there."

For fully a hundred years the early Catholic missions of the Fox River valley were left alone until the glorious work of the Jesuit pioneers from Canada was again taken up in our present century, by the apostolic zeal of priestly men coming from "the States." Here opens a new chapter in the history of the Catholic Missions of the Fox River valley, showing on its front page the noble names of Fathers Richard, Badin, Mazzuchelli, and Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati.

THE COMING OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS TO WISCONSIN.¹

BY JOHN NELSON DAVIDSON, A. M.

Before the waters of the Great Lakes had found their present pathway to the sea, they had an outlet through the region that lies to the south and the southwest of those Archaean mountains that we call the Adirondacks. In time, for some reason that we will leave the geologist to explain, the overflow of the great waters of the interior forsook its ancient channel. There were changes of level, and a dividing of the waters. Of these, some flowed in new directions, and some kept their old course, to be known in time as the Mohawk. But there was no convulsion of nature, there was no tearing apart of the earth. The banks of the ancient though now divided river, with its tributary valleys and their enclosing hills, were left unmarred.

In accordance with the law of conquest, this great gateway through the Appalachian range to the interior of North America was held, when the French first came to the St. Lawrence and the Dutch to the Hudson, by the strongest of all the peoples of the eastern portion of our continent. It is no part of our narrative to tell the story of the Ongwehonwe, "the men surpassing all others," the "Five Nations" of the British, the "Iroquois" of the French. They did surpass their neighbors of the same race, both in war and in counsel, and had they been wise enough to form a true nation instead of a mere confederacy, several pages of American history might now bear a very different record.

¹ Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

Moreover, much of our story is of those who should be called New England rather than New York Indians. These were the Brothertowns and the Stockbridges, or Mu-he-ka-ne-ok. The English names of these tribes suggest long and close intercourse with the whites. So far as I know, the Brothertowns are the only Indians whose tribal name was adopted as a direct result of Christian teaching. Such teaching some of their ancestors must have had almost from the first coming of Pilgrims to Plymouth. Thus we find that their future governor, Edward Winslow, wrote in December, 1621: "We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving, and ready to pleasure us." And there are abundant other records to show that both Pilgrims and Puritans were diligent in giving Christian instruction to the savages.

It was in 1646 that the Apostle Eliot began his abundant labors for the Indians. In 1670 he was able to tell of eight "praying towns" among them and of other places where there were churches or where the Indians met "to worship God and sanctify the Sabbath." Says John Fiske: "In 1674 there were four thousand Indians who professed to be Christians." It is evident that Eliot did not toil alone. Nearly fifty teachers and catechists were employed in this great work. No pains were spared to teach the Indians to read and to write, and in a comparatively short time the proportion of them who could do both, was larger than the corresponding number among the inhabitants of Russia at the present day. The necessary cost was met, in great part, by the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among Indians in North America,"¹ which was incorporated by the famous Long Parliament in 1649, perhaps at the suggestion of Winslow, and almost certainly as a result of the labors of Eliot. This society paid for the printing of the first Bible published in America,—the translation made by Eliot into the language of the Massachusetts Indians.

¹Not to be confounded with the existing "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

Aside from the Pequot and King Philip wars, the men of New England fought but little with the Indians, save as many of these were allies of the French in the second Hundred Years War—that war in which the prize was the possession of the fairest and greatest part of the North American continent.

“They live much the better, and peaceably, for the English,” says Lechford, “and themselves know it, or at least their Sachems and Saggamores know so much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another.” Even the Pequot War and that commonly called by the name of King Philip were, in part, wars of Indian against Indian. After these conflicts were over, fragments of many tribes were left, and of some of these was constituted a century later, the “nation” of Brothertowns. In this intervening time there had been worthy and less worthy successors to the Apostle Eliot. Good, pedantic, ridiculous, misunderstood and maligned Cotton Mather had been indefatigable in labors for the Indians, as for every body.

When Mather died (1728) there was a Mohegan home on the west bank of the Thames, in Connecticut, and in this home a boy of five years or thereabout to whom had been given what was probably the name of his mother’s family—Sampson. The father seems to have been a leader in founding a village of his people. In this village a missionary school was established when Sampson Occom,—for it is he of whom I am writing,—was ten years old. Soon, however, the school was given up as a failure. But a minister of the neighborhood visited these people once in two weeks during the summer. This was the time of the Great Awakening in New England, and young Occom, after persistent study, became a successful teacher of his race. He even aroused great enthusiasm among the higher classes of whites, and once preached before King George III.

In his comprehensive work, Occom visited the Oneidas, going first in 1761. He made ready the way for Samuel Kirkland, the results of whose work yet abide among that people. For their sake, Kirkland went down almost to death. Thus he won

the hearts of many and became the true founder of what was in later years called the First Christian party of the Oneidas. Among the converts was the truly illustrious chief Skenandoah. It was Kirkland's sowing that was reaped in later years by the unworthy Eleazar Williams. During the Revolutionary War, Kirkland's service to the cause of the colonists was great. Sir William Johnson, his majesty's general agent for Indian affairs in the North, died in 1773, but his son and successor, Sir John Johnson, sought to enlist the Six Nations on the British side. Johnson's great influence, Kirkland successfully withstood, so far as the Oneidas were concerned. These he at first endeavored to keep in a state of neutrality. At that time it was the wish of the colonists and of Congress to keep the Indians altogether out of the conflict. Later, when the Oneidas were drawn into the contest, about 250 of them, under the leadership of Skenandoah, served as part of the American force. It was with wise reluctance that Washington accepted the services of Indians, but Skenandoah and his band seem to have brought no discredit either upon their religion or upon the colonial army.

Associated with the Oneidas in service to the American cause, were kinsmen whom in 1713 or in the years immediately following, they had received from the Carolinas.¹ These were the Tuscaroras. By their course in the Revolutionary War these two tribes must have been separated, in some degree, from most of the other Iroquois, and thus, perhaps, they were the more ready to welcome the New England and Long Island Indians,—Narragansetts, Pequots, Montauks, Mohegans, the Nehanticks (of Farmington), and perhaps others,²—who, under

¹Then it was that the "Five Nations" became the "Six Nations."

²"Occom seems to have exercised a missionary's care over seven particular places: Mohegan, Montauk, Long Island; Niantic, Groton, Farmington, Stonington (Connecticut); and Charlestown, Rhode Island." So read Rev. William De Loss Love, of Hartford, Connecticut, 1894, February 13th, before the Oneida county (New York) Historical society. In accord with this statement is an expression used in the "Book of Brothertown Records" — "the remnant of the seven tribes." See Pomroy Jones's *Annals of Oneida County*, p. 269.

the teaching of Occom and his brothers-in-law, David and Jacob Fowler, had been induced to give up what was left of their old tribal organizations, form a new tribe and establish a new home. This policy of removal and union was adopted before the war, for the Oneidas' deed of their gift of ten miles square of land was made in 1774, and some of the families interested moved westward about that time. But it was not until 1784 that there was any considerable emigration of Occom's people, and the New York "Brothertown" was not organized until November 7, 1785. Occom was present, and thereafter spent his summers with his people or with the Stockbridges, among whom he died July 14, 1792. Whites as well as Indians were the objects of his pastoral care, and "even to this day his name is venerated among the descendants of those whom he taught."¹

Occom and Kirkland planned to establish a missionary school in the region of their labors. Thus in 1793 the Hamilton Oneida Academy was founded. From this planting grew Hamilton College whence, among others, there came to Wisconsin, while she was yet unnamed, Morgan Lewis Martin, Jedidiah Dwight Stephens, of the Statesburgh mission, and Lewis Homeri Loss, one of the founders of the seminary which finds continued life in the preparatory school connected with Beloit College.

The other Indian emigrants from New England to New York, the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, or Stockbridges, have a story that invites retelling, but we must be content with the barest synopsis. They were the constant friends of the colonists, and a wall of defence to western Massachusetts from the Indians of Canada. Their first minister was John Sergeant, who in character, ability, and devotion ranks with Eliot. He was early translated, dying in 1749, but his work continued. In the Indian training school which he founded, some Mohawks, Oneidas, and other

¹*Ibid.* Jones, according to his own statement, was one of the children in a family that "venerated the name" of Occom.

Iroquois received more or less of education. All this was before the coming of Kirkland to the Oneidas, and his work among that people must have been aided by the fact that a number of their young men had been attendants in the school that may be called Sergeant's dying gift to the cause of Indian enlightenment. Not without brotherly persuasion did those young men and boys come to the Massachusetts mission at Stockbridge, and there the parents of some of them found for a time a home—as later, during the Revolutionary War, did the family of Kirkland. What wonder that the generous and grateful Oneidas bade the Stockbridges also come and dwell beside them? It is probable that, as in the case of the Brothertowns, the invitation was given before the war. But the years of actual removal began with 1783 and ended with 1787.

According to the example set by many of the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers, and so often followed by spiritual descendants of these makers of New England, a church of the emigrants was organized (1785) before the majority of them had left their old home. Then it was that its migrating Indian members were fraternally dismissed from the church that had its beginning in the baptism of a Mohegan convert,—the church that was to become in their boyhood the spiritual home of Cyrus Field, "the man who laid the cable," and his illustrious brothers.

It was in accord with a custom of emigrants, that the new home should be called by the name of the old. Thus Stockbridge in New York came to be,—New Stockbridge, as it was called for many years. Occom's people also were coming to their new home. So it came to pass that the Oneidas, the Stockbridges, and the Brothertowns were gathered together in nature's great gateway leading toward the West.

Before many years had passed, those who had come from New England were ready for another migration. Many impulses tended to such movement. Emigration was in the air. White men were moving westward. To Mohawks and Cayugas who had remained loyal to the king, there had been given new

homes in Canada. The Indians in New York were surrounded by a constantly-increasing population of whites. The Brothertowns were distracted by internal strife, and were rapidly losing their lands through their own foolishness and the trickery of their scheming neighbors. The constructive genius and gracious spirit of Occom did not accomplish, except in part, his desire for the union of diverse tribes. Indians are more readily disunited than united. The sober-minded among all the Christian Indians found it difficult, in the midst of temptations offered by white men, to hold in check the less stable portion of their people. Moreover the Stockbridge tribe shared in a century-old invitation given by the Miamis to come and dwell beside them in their Western home. This invitation had already been accepted by the Delawares whom, after an Indian fashion, the Stockbridges called their grandfathers. In time, the Delawares also extended an invitation to their Stockbridge and Brothertown grandchildren to remove to the West and occupy the land that had been promised them. This was done in a formal manner "at a general council held at White river [Indiana], July 3, 1809, by the Wawponohkies (to-wit): Delawares, Mohiconock, Monssy, Wescoopsey, and Nanticoke Nations, at which time Working Pomseon, a principal chief of the Delaware Nation, delivered a speech to the deputies of the four towns which stand on the banks of the Grand river and River De Trench, also to the Mohekons, and the remnant of the seven tribes of Indians who reside at Brothertown, in the state of New York."¹

The title of the Stockbridges to their land on White River had been attested in a carefully guarded manner, December 21, 1808, by President Jefferson. One of their Revolutionary warriors, Hendrick Aupaumut, who served in the campaign against Burgoyne, is named in this document and called "captain." Whether or not business connected with this land-claim

¹Extract from "The Book of Brothertown Records," as found in *Annals of Oneida County*, pp. 269, 270.

had anything to do with his coming to the West, I cannot say; but in 1810, and for some years later, Aupaumut was in the White River country. Thus we may regard him as a forerunner of the proposed emigration of the Stockbridges and Brothertowns, who for a time after their removal to New York, had been so closely united under Occom's pastorate as to form one church that held public service alternately at Hendrick Aupaumut's among the Stockbridges, and at David Fowler's among the Brothertowns.

While in Indiana, Aupaumut was one of the most effective opponents of Tecumseh and his brother Elskwatawa, the "prophet," in the war in which General (afterward President) Harrison won his military reputation. In the War of 1812-15, which to that part of the West was merely a continuation of the one already existing, Aupaumut, who dropped his Indian name for Hendrick, took the American side and became, if he had not been already, an officer in our army.

We may regard it as exceedingly probable that, as was the case at the time of the Revolution, so in the early years of the century that is now about to end, war delayed a westward migration of these New England Indians. Their first leader in this proposed movement was practically deposed from his tribal office on account of drunkenness. He was succeeded by his son, Solomon Uhhaunnowwaunmut Hendrick, who was a strong advocate of the policy of emigration. Two families went in 1817. But this Hendrick of unpronounceable Mohegan name did not go with them, nor did he lead the larger company that went in 1818. Its departure was made the occasion of a religious solemnity, for among its members were some of the best of the Indian children, in a spiritual sense, of John Sergeant, of David Brainerd, and of Jonathan Edwards.

The leader of this new emigration was John Metoxen, a man who had been educated among the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He was at this time about forty-eight years old. "When young, Mr. Metoxen was a man of great bodily

strength," and engaged or was compelled to engage in "many hard-fought personal conflicts." From all we know of the man's personal character we may believe that this fighting was of necessity and not choice. In those days an Indian on the frontier who was independent enough and strong enough to defend himself and his people, had need to be an exponent of muscular Christianity.

On leaving New York, Metoxen and some of his people did, as had been done in 1785, when the Stockbridges were leaving Massachusetts,—they organized a church according to the simple polity of the Pilgrims. The leader of the company, "than whom a man of more exalted worth cannot be found upon earth,"¹ was chosen deacon of the church, and faithfully did he discharge the duties of his office. He and his people took an overland course, halting on the Sabbath days. Then they sang the psalms that David Brainerd² had translated into Mohican for their fathers, and Deacon Metoxen read Scripture lessons and Scott's comments thereon.

They spent the winter in the vicinity of Piqua. Before Metoxen and his company reached their destination—the White River region in Indiana—the Miamis and the Delawares had sold their land, almost under compulsion. Thus the newly arrived Stockbridges were left mere tenants at will of the United States government. Moreover the influence of the politicians and the people of Indiana, then a full-fledged state, was exerted constantly to hasten the time when all Indians must leave for homes or stopping-places yet farther to the west—or the north, or the south, the Hoosiers did not care which.

To the northward and far distant, as journeys must needs be made in those days, was a region whither the Stockbridge tribe—so Metoxen and others of the old men used to affirm—had been invited many years before to remove. But their tribal grandchildren, the Outagamies, who were said to have given the

¹ Calvin Colton, *Tour of the American Lakes*,

² Brown, *History of Missions*, ii, p. 94,

invitation, had themselves lost the land which, according to the tradition, they were once more than willing to share with their Massachusetts kindred. The valley of the Fox was no longer the home of the Outagamies.

That the promise which the Stockbridges must have known could not be fulfilled had any considerable effect in turning their minds to the Green Bay region as a possible home, seems improbable, and Metoxen and his men were not in a position to aid effectively in prosecuting any claim, even if it had been a valid one. Yet, as we shall see, there were at work influences by which, after four years of waiting, a home was secured for them in the land wherein a dwelling-place had been offered to their fathers. Of these influences let us begin with the most potent.

“Previous to 1820, and in that year especially, the government of the United States took active and efficient measures to facilitate the purchase of a tract of land, in the Northwestern Territory, for the accommodation and future settlement of the New York Indians. This was done for the avowed purpose of carrying into effect beneficially a compromise with the Stockbridge and Munsee¹ tribes for lands on the White River, purchased by the Delawares and partly owned by the former; and to accommodate them and their red brethren of New York with a permanent home remote from the vicinity of any white settlement and the temptation to the use of ardent spirits, that ‘bane of Indian improvement.’ It was also a desirable object with the government to place these friendly Indians, who had made considerable advances in civilization and improvement, on a distant outpost, where they might serve to check or harmonize the disaffected or hostile savages of that region. Their attachment to the American cause and the assistance they af-

¹A branch of one of the Delawares. The Munsees seem to have been scattered in consequence of having taken sides against the colonists in the American Revolution. From homes in New York, Canada and perhaps Indiana and elsewhere, some came in later years to Wisconsin, where the few there were of them have united with the Stockbridges.

forded in the late war was also avowed as an additional reason for the extension to them of the fostering care of the government."¹

During these years Mr. Calhoun was secretary of war, and there is reason to believe that he favored the project of removing the New York Indians to the Wisconsin region, with the view of making it an Indian Territory of the North, and thus reducing the number of possible free states.

But the United States government could not compel removal; it could only promote it. Nor had the State government of New York any pretext for treating the Indian tribes within its jurisdiction as, to her everlasting disgrace, Georgia a few years later treated the Cherokees. A juster public sentiment in New York permitted no official aggression upon even the feeblest of the tribes. Yet the people and the government of New York were never sorry when any of the Indians were disposed to remove voluntarily, and were ready, practically, to bid them not to stand upon the order of their going.

And some there were who, as we have seen, wanted only a place to which to go. Deprived,—unjustly, as they doubtless thought,—of the one they expected to secure, the Stockbridge Indians found, in seeking another, a worthy and influential ally in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and effective support in the churches forming its constituency. As certain missionary adjustments then stood, the proposed westward migration so eagerly desired by many or most of the Stockbridges, would put their church and its people under the care of the Board. Moreover there had been, in 1802, a short-lived Connecticut mission on Mackinac Island, and the establishment of its successor under Rev. William Montague Ferry may have been one of the coming events that cast their shadows before.

Of all members of the Board, and of all the friends of the

¹Report of Commissioners Erastus Root and James McCall, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 208.

Stockbridges, no one seems to have been more active in their service than Dr. Jedidiah Morse, an eminent Congregational clergyman, the best American geographer of his time, and the father of the inventor of the telegraph. It would seem that as early as June, 1818, Dr. Morse was in correspondence with the second John Sergeant, pastor of the Stockbridge church, in regard to the projected removal westward of that people. "This gentleman [Dr. Morse] counseled the Indians and their friends to take immediate measures to have a visit paid, by some discreet agents, to the Western tribes to select a proper point for location, and open negotiations for a cession of lands. Dr. Morse himself was thought to be the very person to undertake such a mission. Application being made to the secretary of war, Dr. Morse was commissioned to make a general tour among the Northwestern Indians, with a view of forming a better understanding between those tribes and the government. Whatever other purposes may have occupied the attention of this commissioner, it is certain that of securing a western retreat for the Stockbridges and other New York tribes was a leading one; though the writer has no evidence of collusion in the matter, at this date, with the Ogden Land Company. Green Bay was a point specially visited by Dr. Morse, where he spent nearly three weeks and preached the first Protestant sermon ever delivered at that place."¹ Almost certainly this was the first Protestant sermon ever preached in Wisconsin, and probably the first of any kind delivered in the English language.² Inasmuch as Dr. Morse arrived at Green Bay on Friday, July 7, 1820, we may assume that this historic sermon was preached in Fort Howard on the following Sunday, July 9.

¹"Some Account of the Advent of the New York Indians into Wisconsin," by Gen. Albert G. Ellis, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii.

²I do not forget that Rev. Samuel Andrews Peters, of "blue law" and Tory fame, was also at Green Bay and at Prairie du Chien, in the summer of 1818. He officiated at a marriage at Prairie du Chien, and baptized children at Green Bay. But there is no evidence that he conducted public worship at either place, and the presumption is that he did not do so.

When Dr. Morse, having ended his long tour, visited his Indian friends in New York, he advised them to migrate to the Green Bay region and, on the supposition that they would do so, said to them things like these: "You will never again be disturbed. The white man will never go there. He will never desire those lands. They are too far off."¹ His advice accorded well with the inclinations of the Stockbridges; and perhaps even better with the eager desire of the Ogden Land Company, whose interest in the matter is best explained by a brief digression.

"By Charter the Massachusetts Province extends West to the South Sea and must therefore Butt upon the Gulf of California near the North Part of it." Thus wrote Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of West Springfield, in his *Historical Memoirs of Rev. John Sergeant*, published in 1753. When, however, the claim of Massachusetts to jurisdiction in what is now central and western New York was found to be practically untenable, there was effected between the two states a compromise by which Massachusetts yielded all her rights save those of proprietorship—subject to the rights of the Indians—in a tract of about six millions of acres. This claim of Massachusetts the State sold in April, 1788, to a company represented by Nathaniel Gorham, of Charlestown, and Oliver Phelps, of Granville, Hampden county. The consideration was one million dollars, payable in a scrip that had become depreciated. It is evident that here was a chance for land speculation on a large scale. The Holland Land Company bought the pre-emption right that Phelps, Gorham and their associates had secured, and in 1810 sold it to the Ogden Company.

In addition to the plan according to which Dr. Morse and the Stockbridges were working, there came to be another project as far exceeding theirs as an inflated balloon is larger than the solid materials of which it is composed. This project, or

¹ That is, if we can trust the Indians' memories and statements as reported by Mr. Colton in his *Tour of the American Lakes*.

dream, contemplated nothing less than the removal of all the Iroquois from New York and Canada, and would have established in what is now Wisconsin an Indian empire. This scheme—or, at least, the first part of it—had the favor of the Ogden Land Company.

Now that we have seen so many and such diverse agencies at work to secure, if possible, the removal of Indians from New York, and have learned of some preparation for their coming to Wisconsin, it is pertinent to inquire how many of them wished to make the proposed change. On the part of the Stockbridges who had remained in New York, and on the part of the Brothertowns—those, in short, who may be called the New England Indians—there seems to have been no hesitation.

But it was quite otherwise with the Iroquois. Of these, so few except Oneidas made the removal, that this part of our narrative may confine itself to that one tribe, and to the man who made himself for some years, if not their leader at least the most prominent figure among them. This Eleazar Williams,—for it is he of whom I write,—was of a half-breed family, or, more precisely, one of mixed blood—a family of the St. Regis branch of the Mohawks. But when the Five Nations as a confederacy became determined enemies of the French, the Mohawk Catholics separated themselves from the remainder of their people, and founded a settlement, once called St. Regis, at Sault St. Louis on the St. Lawrence. Thither was brought Eunice, daughter of Rev. John Williams, the “redeemed captive,” of Deerfield, Massachusetts. But Eunice was never given up; she was married to an Indian, and in manner of life became one of her husband’s tribe, and in religion a Roman Catholic. Her grandson, Thomas, who kept the surname of his white ancestors, fought on the British side during the Revolution. But between him and Sir John Johnson there sprang up a hearty dislike. Other causes may have tended to bring Thomas Williams into sympathy with the Americans. Scarcely was the war over before we find him in New England, appar-

ently for the purpose of visiting his white kindred.¹ At Stockbridge his interpreter was Rev. Samuel Kirkland. This was in 1783.

About five years afterward, as nearly as Mr. Wight, our best authority, can determine, there was born to Thomas Williams and his wife—a woman of mixed blood though an Indian in appearance—a son, to whom the parents, probably in honor of some New England ancestor or kinsman, gave the name Eleazar.

It is evident from the story of his ancestry that our Eleazar Williams had the magic key of blood relationship wherewith to unlock the doors of many of the best homes in New England. “He was in Massachusetts, among enthusiastic religionists, as the embodiment of the Deerfield tragedy, and all the treasured traditions of a century of prayer meetings, mournful and stern recollections of invasion, fire and blood, hostility to Romanism, veneration for the memory of John Williams, and piqued affection for poor Eunice, whose perversion was looked upon as a misfortune rather than a crime, all centered in him so that he found himself a hero from the alphabet, a predestined crusader and missionary of Protestantism, and became tinctured with all the feelings in the social atmosphere around him.”

Thus writes Dr. Hanson and adds: “The Williams family were in the habit of carrying him [Eleazar] round the country to exhibit to different branches of the wide extended stock, as one by whom an honor was conferred upon them.”

Not alone among his kindred did Eleazar Williams excite interest and find helpers. Through its general court the commonwealth of Massachusetts made a grant of \$350 to aid in his education. The bill for that purpose passed the senate on the 13th of June, 1804, and the house on the 15th. Eleazar was then in Boston, having attended the missionary anniversaries the preceding month. The grant made by the common-

¹See Wight's “Eleazer Williams,” *Parkman Club Publications*, No. 7. This monograph is a model of its kind,—thorough, accurate, painstaking, and just.

wealth for Eleazar's education was supplemented by gifts of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, the Hampshire Missionary Society, and perhaps others.

If we can believe what are virtually his own statements, it was not in New England only that Williams received flattering marks of attention, but also in Canada. Indeed, Eleazar received much more attention than was good for him.

In the revival of 1802, in Longmeadow, Eleazar was one of those who were deeply affected. We may suppose that about this time he became a member of the church. We may presume, also, that his parents did not object to his yielding to the religious influences in which they had placed him. For both his father and his mother visited Longmeadow in January, 1804, and we hear of no objection on their part to the religious training he was receiving.

"In 1806 he began to study with Dr. Welch of Mansfield, Connecticut, where descendants of the Rev. John Williams resided."¹ In May, 1807, he was at Hartford. "In December, 1809, he became a pupil of the Rev. Enoch Hale of West Hampton, Mass., with whom he continued nominally, until August, 1812."² Thence he went into army service. "I am sent for," he writes under date of July 27, 1812, "to prevent the Indians from taking up the hatchet against the Americans. I tremble; my situation is very critical. Indeed, I hope God will direct me what to do."³ His going into the army was "a disappointment and grief to his beneficent patrons in New England."⁴ Indeed, his former relations to some of them seem never to have been resumed. Their feelings in regard to his engaging in military service may well have been occasioned, in part, by their probable fear of its effect upon his character. Then, too, many of them, being Federalists, regarded the war

¹ Wight's "Eleazer Williams."

² *Ibid.*

³ *The lost Prince*, p. 221.

⁴ Wight, p. 158.

as needless and wicked and they did not hesitate to say what they thought.

The student is one of the attractive characters of fact as well as of fiction. How much more, when the student is a soldier! Apparently Williams had lost none of his power to please—unless to please those who knew him well. He was known both in New England and at St. Regis. He sought fresh fields and pastures new, perhaps because he really preferred the herbage therein and possibly because there seemed to be in those new fields more to which he could have access. Henceforth, until he comes to the Green Bay region, his home is in New York, not in New England nor among the Caughnawagas. Moreover, he makes a change of ecclesiastical relationship and June 21, 1815, was confirmed in New York as a member of the Episcopal church. “He connected himself with our church from conviction, and appears warmly attached to her doctrines, her apostolic ministry and her worship,” says the journal of the diocese of New York for 1818.

Williams's change of church did not involve abandonment of his intention to become a missionary. But the door at St. Regis, that he once thought of entering, must by this time have been effectually closed. If he had sought possible parishioners there, some of them might have asked unpleasant questions about their share of the tribe's annuity.¹ In another direction lay a field at once more hopeful and less carefully guarded. That was where Kirkland had done his life work; and there among the Oneidas, Williams began (March, 1816) his ministry. At no time of his life did his abilities show to better advantage. First, he won to himself and his mission those who had already become Christians. Next, he applied himself, in a fashion truly Indian, to the conversion of the pagans, who formed much the larger part of the tribe. For these the Quakers had done much philanthropic work, and thus Williams's

¹ Which, as tribal agent, he drew from 1812 to 1820 and never accounted for.

task was made lighter. Under his public challenge to accept or confute Christianity, the so-called pagans, as a body, accepted the new faith and chose for themselves in their political relations the name Second Christian party.¹

It was in the year wherein Williams won his victory over the pagans (1817) that the first of the Stockbridge emigrants went to the West. Williams adopted or originated independently the project of removal. He must have known what Occom had done thirty years before. The Indian who had preached before a king, had gathered fragments of tribes into a new home that lay toward the West, and of these fragments had constructed a new "nation." Could not a man whom Williams probably regarded as greater than Occom lead entire tribes into a more distant West and there unite them into a confederacy? What Williams proposed to establish in this region was, according to Mr. Ellis,² who had every opportunity of knowing, a "grand confederacy of cantons, but all under one federal head; the government to be a mixture of civil, military and ecclesiastic; the latter to be preeminent." Elsewhere Mr. Ellis calls Williams's scheme of government "a plan of empire with one supreme head." But in order to have an Indian empire, you must have Indians, and these became very shy indeed of Williams. The Stockbridges, who were leaders in the westward movement, do not seem to have paid even the slightest attention to Williams's dreams of sovereignty. He did persuade the First Christian party of the Oneidas to give what appears to have been a reluctant consent to the policy of emigration. The Second Christian party became almost furious against the project. The Senecas gave a hearing to Williams, but Red Jacket and others successfully withstood him. Among the Onondagas and the Tuscaroras his failure, though perhaps not so marked, seems to have been complete. Yet in each of these tribes he found one or more individuals

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 326.

² *Ibid.*, p. 368.

who consented to make trial, at least, of his project. The Caughnawagas, or St. Regis tribe, he took it upon himself to misrepresent.

In the winter of 1819-20, Williams was the most prominent figure in one of the parties of "New York Indians" that sought and obtained from the war department permission to visit during the following summer, the barbarous tribes living in the vicinity of Green Bay. The other party, the Stockbridges, was that in which Dr. Morse was especially interested. His westward course was followed by delegations from both parties as far as Detroit. There they turned back on learning of Bowyer's treaty with the Menomonees. This, Dr. Morse characterized as "an attempt of wicked speculators to defraud them of valuable lands." Aided by the Stockbridges and perhaps by others, Dr. Morse made such representations to President Monroe that he took upon himself the responsibility of rejecting the treaty, without even submitting it to the senate.

Thus, with renewed hope, New York Indians went to Green Bay in 1821. The Munsees had a representative. Solomon U. Hendricks was leader of the Stockbridges. Had not Williams held the like position in the other delegation, it is probable, Mr. Ellis thinks, that the New York Indians could have secured all the land they wanted. But "some of the more shrewd among the French and half-breeds very soon penetrated the ambitious design of Williams, which was no less than a total subjugation of the whole country, and the establishment of an Indian government of which he was to be sole dictator."¹ Under these circumstances, all the New York delegates could secure was a strip of land five miles or less wide, crossing the Fox River at right angles, having there the Little Chute (Little

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 425. This was published, be it remembered, while Williams was still living. Mr. Ellis accompanied the Iroquois party as far as Mackinaw, where his journey was interrupted by illness. But when both delegations came back from Green Bay he was able to return with them to New York.

Kaukauna) as its center, and extending northwest and southeast as far as the Menomonees and Winnebagoes held the land.¹ With the new-comers in such a position, both tribes of old occupants, and the whites as well, could keep close watch upon them. This treaty was made August 8, 1821.

As Hendrick had no scheme of empire, and his people really wished to leave New York, he advised the acceptance of the shabby offer, and though nobody was satisfied his advice was followed. We cannot doubt that between what the commission was able actually to do and what Williams had said it was going to do, there was a very great contrast. It could not be expected that the report he and his delegates must needs make would please their people. Naturally, the party opposed to removal was, at least for a time, greatly strengthened. The Oneidas took the lead in repudiating the purchase, and in "announcing in the most earnest manner possible their determination never to remove."²

They sent an address to Bishop Hobart³ denouncing Williams as one who was scheming to deprive them of their homes and make them wanderers and vagabonds. They begged his bishop to remove him at once from his office as religious teacher among them. If there was any opposition to this request, even among the First Christian party, it does not seem to have made itself manifest. But, to use the words of Dr. Hanson, "the bishop paid no attention to them and did not even deign to reply." This action or want of action on his part, and Williams's unfitness for the office of Christian pastor, prepared the way, no doubt, for a third missionary movement among the Oneidas—that of the Methodists, for the beginning of which, however, I find no earlier date (though I believe there was one) than 1829.

¹ These tribes were then possessors of nearly all the region that is now Wisconsin. We must except the Ojibway strip on Lake Superior and possibly also a small tract adjacent to Illinois and claimed by the Sacs and Foxes.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 426.

³ Dated November 21, 1821.

Despite all opposition,—which was confined, it would seem, entirely to the Iroquois,—the promoters of emigration rallied to the support of their project, and in 1822 again sent delegations to Green Bay. The unwillingness of the Indians there to make any such cession as was desired by their New York “grandfathers” and others,¹ was due chiefly to the French and half-breeds. These seem to have changed their minds in the course of the year and, accordingly, the Menomonees were induced to give to “the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis and Munsee nations * * * all the right, title, interest and claim” which they themselves had previously possessed to an immense tract whose southern and eastern limits—both on Lake Michigan—were the mouth of the Milwaukee River and the Bay de Noque. The northern boundary was the height of land between Lakes Michigan and Superior; the western was, in part, the cession of the year before and, in part, the Milwaukee River. The consideration was a “thousand dollars in goods to be paid in hand, and one thousand dollars more in goods to be paid the next year, and a similar amount the year following. The treaty was concluded 1822, September 23d.” The Menomonees reserved “the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands herein ceded.” In other words, they and the new comers were to be joint occupants and possessors in common of said lands, with this important provision in favor of the more civilized tribes: “That they, the Menomonee nation, shall not in any manner infringe upon any settlements or improvements whatever which may be in any manner made by the said Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis or Munsee nations.”² It will be seen that the New York Indians had much the better of the bargain.

But in giving his approval (March 13, 1823) to this treaty President Monroe limited the rights of “the Stockbridge,

¹ In Indian tribal relationship, the Stockbridges are “grandfathers” to the Menomonees. The Winnebagoes, as is well known, are of the Dakotah stock.

² See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, 428, *note*.

Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, and Munsee tribes, or nations, of Indians" to "that portion of the country therein described which lies between Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Fox River, that part of the former purchase made by said tribes * * * which lies south of Fox River"—these unitedly forming what might be called the inland boundary—and a line drawn on the shore of Lake Michigan back to the head of Sturgeon Bay.

The homeless band of Stockbridges, in Indiana, must have been glad enough to hear of the successful issue of the negotiations carried on at Green Bay by their tribal brethren and kinsmen. No doubt they made haste to leave the White River country, if indeed they had not left it before the good news reached them.

Thus it came to pass that some time in the late summer, or in the autumn, of 1822 the little company of Christian Indians, of which Metoxen was leader, was making its way along the western shore of Lake Michigan. Even if they had canoes—and this supposition accords with probability and well-founded tradition—these pilgrims and strangers must needs have gone slowly. For they had cattle, whose pastures were but parts of their pathway. Moreover, it is not unlikely that the men had to get out of forest and lake the greater part of the food required by the common need. Their journey must have been one of many days. They had great difficulty in making their cattle swim the Chicago River. But at last a bold leader of the herd plunged in and the others followed.

Not until, "late in the fall,"¹ when they reached the Grand Kakalin, the site of Kaukauna, did Metoxen and his party make an end of their migration. Theirs was the first settlement in the Wisconsin region, of any of the New York Indians,—indeed, of any body of people who had been trained in distinctively American ideas. We may say of Metoxen and of some of his followers, that in character and purpose they were kinsmen of Manasseh Cutler and the men of the second Mayflower. The

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 429.

first of the five states of the Ordinance of 1787, and the last, had each its pilgrimage, as each has its Plymouth. Moreover, our Plymouth—that is, Kaukauna—has its Burial Hill wherein rest the bones of Hendrick Aupaumut, pupil in the school founded by the first John Sergeant, patriot by the grace of God, American soldier in two wars, and,—alas that we should have to say it,—drunkard at last by the temptation of man.

Against this besetting sin of his people, Metoxen contended, as we know from a letter that he wrote from “Cades, Green Bay, December 2nd, 1823,” the second year after his coming to the Fox River valley. In that year, the first of the Stockbridge emigrants from New York joined their fellow-tribesmen in the West. Some of them had been yielding to the temptation of drunkenness. Metoxen, as the leader in the little church, was writing to his pastor, the second John Sergeant. “Our brethren,” he says, “appear to be quite different from what they were when I first saw them. I trust that some of them are choosing God for their portion, remembering that he is the only true source of happiness for the immortal soul, and grieving because they had forsaken the only King of the Universe. * * * It is true indeed that the soul was made for God—it came from God and can never be happy but in returning to Him again. Thus we may have reason to believe that the Spirit of the Lord is moving upon them, saying, ‘Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest. If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.’” This letter of Metoxen’s¹ throws light not only upon the moral dangers of his people, but suggests what customs he and those like him were trying to establish. The church of which he was deacon was the first one not Roman Catholic in all the region that is now Wisconsin. He to whom this letter was addressed died September 7, 1824. His life and the abiding of his people in New York ended almost together. Like

¹A part of which is to be found in Miss Jones’s history of Stockbridge, whence I take the extract to be found above.

John Robinson of Leyden, he never saw the land to which his flock were removing.

In the year of Sergeant's death, some of the Munsees went to the West. Probably the largest Stockbridge emigration of any one year was that of 1825. For in that year the legislature of New York honored itself, not indeed by buying land of the Stockbridges, but by paying them full value for it.¹ The last emigrants, the poor of the tribe, were taken to the West in 1829, under the leadership of John W. Quinney. As has been intimated, the cost of the removal of the entire tribe was met by the sale of its land.

When the first of the Brothertowns came, and where they settled, is not quite certain. Mr. Ellis gives 1823 as the year, and Little Kakalin as the place. In making this last statement, he is probably in error. Certainly some time previous to 1830 they formed a settlement, traces of which may still be seen, close beside that of the Stockbridges.²

We turn again to the Oneidas and their old man of the sea, Eleazar Williams. He regarded the treaty of 1822 as a grand triumph, and with his delegates remained the following winter in the country wherein he was soon to be the most important personage. The Oneida delegates made their headquarters at the Little Kakalin (Little Rapids) where, in the following summer or autumn, a small party of their people, under the leadership of Neddy Atsiquet, formed a settlement. This increased, until in 1825 it numbered 150. These removed in that year and united with the largest company of their people

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, p. 328.

² Recalling the winter of 1834-5, Mrs. Mary Etta (Rowley) McMillan of Oshkosh wrote me under date of November 25, 1899: "Rev. Cutting Marsh held service, as far as I know. He held service at the mission buildings that winter and all the time, I think. We were unable to attend as it was nearly two miles from us, and the roads were always bad. He used to come and have prayer and singing at our house. There was a large settlement of Brothertowns farther up where it is called the Brothertown settlement."

that had yet come on from New York, in establishing the tribal home within the present Oneida reservation.

But aside from the First Christian party of the Oneidas, and another exception yet to be noted, the Iroquois remained immovable. By 1827 it was manifest that comparatively few Indians had come hither, and that fewer still had any purpose of coming. The party among the Menomonees that were averse to the treaty of 1822 had become dominant. Moreover, Williams had been found here, as he had been found everywhere, to be totally untrustworthy. Accordingly, in 1827, a treaty, known as that of Little Butte des Morts, was made with the Menomonees by Gov. Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKinney. In this, even the just claims of the New York Indians were almost ignored. In contending against the ratification of this treaty, Williams appeared before President Adams as the representative of the St. Regis tribe.¹ The potent influence of the New York senators secured the rights of those whom they regarded as, in a sense, the wards of their State; and in 1830 the United States government made another attempt to adjust the points of difference between the emigrants from New York and the Indians of unnamed Wisconsin. Erastus Root, James McCall, and J. T. Mason were appointed by President Jackson as commissioners on the part of the United States. They found it impossible to reconcile the conflicting interests. The New York Indians still wanted more land than they needed, and the Menomonees, supported by the Winnebagoes and the Green Bay whites, utterly refused to be bound by the treaty of 1822. For the attitude of the New York Indians, McCall seems to hold Williams in part responsible: "He has the advantage of a liberal education and [is] said to be a cunning man, and claims, in right of his wife, a large tract of land. * * * I expect he will make us difficulty in satisfying the New York Indians, in making them believe their claim is more extensive than it is."

Of some, at least, of the public proceedings on this occasion,

¹ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ii, p. 398.

Mr. Colton was a witness. His words of praise are for the New York Indians, who in "moral worth and good manners towered above everything around them, not excepting the white population. Among them I could be sure of exemption from anything vulgar, profane or indecent." He reports, from the memory of notes made at the time, speeches by Metoxen. One of these is, in part, a lamentation over the fact that "the white man is here; he has brought the strong water to sell to our people." On the last day of the council, says Mr. Colton, "John Metoxen addressed himself to his brethren of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, in a strain most sublime and touching. By his language and manner he brought us into the presence of God, so that we felt ourselves to be there."

Probably his appeals and the labor of the commission were not altogether in vain. But from the point of view of immediate result, the commission accomplished nothing, and its members were not even agreed as to what ought to be done.

One thing, however, must by this time have been manifest to everybody, unless possibly to Williams: there could be no Indian empire in the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. Certainly the last possibility of carrying out such a scheme was utterly destroyed by the treaty of February 8, 1831, commonly known as the Stambaugh treaty. This, though framed with little regard to the rights of the New York Indians, was so amended that to the Oneidas was secured their present reservation; to the Stockbridge-Munsee tribe, "two townships of land on the east side of Winnebago Lake;" and to the Brothertowns, "one township of land adjoining the foregoing." Thus all were provided for, all had land enough, and all were reasonably well satisfied, save Williams and the Ogden Land Company.

Too late to give Williams any help in his foolish project,—a fact that probably was pleasing to them rather than otherwise, if they gave any thought at all to that aspect of the matter,—those of the Second Christian party of the Oneidas who had

come under the influence of the Methodists adopted the emigration policy, and came to the Green Bay region. Politically they were known as the Orchard party. About one hundred of them came west in the summer of 1830, and settled near the Stockbridges, forming a village or hamlet that was at first called Smithfield. Thence in 1833 they removed to the Oneida reservation.

It may be that now there is no one living who can tell, as it should be told, the story of the actual removal.¹ For those who came from New York, the journey was one of comparative comfort. Even the first man, Dr. Morse, who came hither to promote the transfer of the tribes, was able to come in a steamer, the "Walk-in-the-Water." It was otherwise with those who came from Indiana.

But at best there is a tendency in emigration to revert to barbarism. So far as I know, all these Indian emigrants resisted well this tendency. This is the more to their credit, as part of the Oneida tribe had so lately come into civilization. As late as 1805, two of their women were condemned to death as witches, and were tomahawked in their own wigwam, by a duly appointed executioner.²

All these emigrants established religious institutions and probably, as soon as possible, those of education. In these great services to the land of their adoption, they needed and received help. Dr. Morse would have established here for these people, a college, for which he thought the funds held in trust by Harvard and by Dartmouth, might justly be claimed. As there are

¹ Mrs. McMillan of Oshkosh (see page 176), whose home in 1834 was at Statesburgh, has favored me with this reminiscence (November 25, 1899): "The Indians that I told you of were Oneidas. They were from New York state, some from St. Lawrence county and some from Oswego county. A great many came on the steamer Monroe, and a great many came on a steamer by the name of Nancy Dousman. They were all Oneidas, and went to Duck creek, as that township was theirs. Their chief and ruler's name was Daniel Bread, as far as I know."

² *Annals of Oneida County*, p. 864.

funds held in Great Britain for the same purpose, he suggested asking for these also, and thus giving the proposed institution an international character.

Though this project of Dr. Morse's was never, so far as I know, seriously entertained by any one except himself, yet a mission school of somewhat comprehensive design was founded at Green Bay under the auspices of the Episcopalians. But the plan of it did not accord with its rapidly changing environment, and some mistakes were made in its management. It was begun in 1829, as a boarding-school, and had a life of about five years.

As this, for a time, was highly useful, and during all its existence called for hard work and the carrying of heavy responsibilities, it is almost needless to say that Williams had nothing to do with it. Perhaps we may as well here bid this extraordinary man farewell. We return for a moment to the time of his triumph, 1822. The following winter he spent in the Indian agency buildings near the present city of Green Bay. There he gave reluctant shelter for a time to a school established by Mr. Ellis, his assistant in mission service,—if it be proper to call a man an assistant, who does about all the work. The room occupied by the school he soon needed for his wife, a girl of fourteen whom he chose from among its pupils. In 1825, Williams took his wife to New York, where her confirmation in Trinity Church excited much interest in certain fashionable circles. In the following year, Williams himself was ordained as deacon by Bishop Hobart, whose confidence in his friend was certainly hard to shake. As their pastor he did little for his people in Wisconsin, save to draw the stipend allowed him by the Missionary Board. In 1832 the Oneida church made a desperate effort to get rid of him, and was finally successful. As Dr. Hanson puts it: "On the 8th September, 1833, Mr. Williams resigned his charge" and "in October, 1834, he left Green Bay but, being taken sick on his journey, did not reach St. Regis until December." With the period of his life in which

he put forth preposterous pretensions to be the son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, our narrative has no particular concern. He died at Hogansburg, New York, August 28, 1858.

To the people who followed Williams to what is now Wisconsin, belongs almost certainly the credit of building the first Protestant house of worship in all this region. This was erected probably soon after the forming of the settlement on Duck Creek. As this was in 1825, the church may have been built in that year, though I think it more probable that the work was done in 1826, or later. There is a doubtful tradition, however, that it was erected in 1823; if so, it must have stood at the Little Kakalin. In 1834, the late Bishop Kemper visited Green Bay and, of course, the Oneida reservation. He describes the church there as "a log building near the parsonage. It has in a recess a chancel with a vestry room behind, an unfinished gallery in front, benches with backs." His account of a communion service, is delightful in its exhibition of brotherly feeling. The service was read in Mohawk, "and hymns in that language were sung from books prepared by the Methodists. * * * The Lord's Supper was then administered" to Methodists and others as well as to those of the future missionary Bishop's own denomination. Dr. Kemper has been beautifully described as a "man who had a passion for goodness."

Another of like spirit, was Rev. Richard Fish Cadle, who for three years had charge of the Episcopal mission boarding-school. In connection with this he had some very trying experiences, and probably made some errors of judgment, not of heart. One who knew him personally¹ has told me of the man's worth and goodness. Mr. Stevens has left on record an account of Mr. Cadle's visit to the Stockbridge mission and church, and his administering thereto the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, January 29, 1832.

Here we turn back in point of time to note that land for the use of this Stockbridge mission at Statesburgh, was given by a

¹The late Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Porter, of Beloit.

deed that bears date of April 6, 1825. Rev. Jesse Miner, successor of the second John Sergeant at New Stockbridge, New York, followed hither his flock, arriving in July, 1827. Under date of September 6, of that year, he issued an address "to the Stockbridge Indians residing in Statesburg." We wish that he had told us who gave the settlement this significant name. He has "collected the Christians together in regular church order," has "revived the Sabbath school," and "established among your young people and others a weekly meeting to read the Scriptures and receive instruction." He gives this significant advice to parents: "I wish your children and young people to reside among yourselves and not be sent down to the Bay; for though they may gain some present advantages there, it will generally be found for them a school of vice and corruption, and I had rather they would be poor than wicked; but temperance and industry will procure for them all the necessities of life at home." Thus began—if we except Williams's work, and the winter's stay (1824–1825) of Rev. Norman Nash—the first Protestant pastorate in what is now Wisconsin.

After his return to New York, Mr. Miner made ready to remove his family, and engaged the late John Y. Smith, so well known in Wisconsin history, to come West "to erect or work upon the mission buildings." Of the two Mr. Smith was the first to come, the next spring, to Green Bay. The home that he built for Mr. Miner, may have been the second framed house in Wisconsin. It was a story-and-a-half structure, and stood on or near the site now occupied by the railway round-house at South Kaukauna. On the hill, and distant three-fourths of a mile or thereabout, stood or was soon built a church that was used also as a school—or a school that was used also as a church. This was of logs, and may have been built at Mr. Miner's suggestion the summer before, or even earlier. The people would certainly have need of it, for in the winter of his absence "they kept up religious worship on the Sabbath, the monthly concert for

prayer, Sabbath school, weekly conference, female prayer-meeting, and meeting of young people for reading the Scriptures."

There was no day school that winter, but one was established the following autumn. It seems to have been supported by tribal funds, and so may be called a free public school, one of the very first in Wisconsin. Its teacher was a young medical student, or physician, Augustus T. Ambler, who came under the auspices of the American Board. He arrived at Statesburgh on the day of the popular election that made Andrew Jackson president of the United States (November 4, 1828). On the twenty-third of the following March, he wrote to one of the secretaries of the Board, announcing the death of Mr. Miner, which had occurred the day before. Not far from the bethel wherein he had taught his people, they made his grave. In their own language, the Indians called him "the very true man." His labors had been blessed with a revival, probably the first in unnamed Wisconsin. For him a successor was found in Rev. Cutting Marsh.

Mr. Ambler wrote: "The Indians have agreed with Mr. Miner to pay me \$24 per month for teaching the winter school. Electa Quinney will probably take charge of the school this summer, and be paid from the public funds of the Indians." Thus Miss Quinney was probably the first woman teacher in Wisconsin, of what may fairly be called a free public school. The condition of Mr. Ambler's health impelled him to go to one of the more southern missions, where he did not long survive. His place at Statesburgh was taken by the late Jedidiah Dwight Stevens.

Romance and religion link together the stories of Statesburgh and Smithfield. Among the Methodist Oneidas was a young Mohawk, whose home had been in Canada before he removed to New York. Another removal brought him to what is now Wisconsin, and here he became the teacher of the school established

by the people to whom he had joined himself. He found a wife among the Stockbridges, our friend, Miss Quinney.¹

Religiously, there were many ties to bind these people together. Before the Methodist Oneidas had a pastor, Mr. Marsh occasionally ministered to them, and rendered more or less of pastoral service.

In 1832 (July 21) a man of fervent piety, the Rev. John Clark, a member of the New York conference, arrived among these people. With true Methodist energy he had a church-and-school building so speedily erected, that it was dedicated on the fifteenth of the following September. "This unpretentious structure, built of logs, twenty-four by thirty feet, was the first Methodist house of worship west of Lake Michigan and north of a line extending west from a point fifty miles south of Chicago to the Pacific ocean."² Again it is pleasant to read that on this occasion the Stockbridge Christians united in dedicatory and communion services with their Oneida brethren. At this time there was formed a "class" in the technical Methodist sense, of about forty Indians. This seems to have been the third formed in Wisconsin, and much the largest. It is more than likely that some of the Brothertowns were members of it. Others, it is probable, were Baptists, who may have been the first of their religious persuasion to come to Wisconsin, except Jonathan Carver himself. But I find no evidence of the organization of a Brothertown Baptist church in what is now Wisconsin.

Perhaps the only tithing-men who ever held office in all this region, were those chosen by the church of the Stockbridge Indians. Possibly the one seen by Mr. Colton was inclined to magnify his office; he certainly did not neglect its duties. With these people came to Wisconsin the institution of Thanksgiving, and the observance of Saturday evening as part of the Sabbath.

It was from their Statesburgh home that their pastor, Rev.

¹This worthy couple—Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Adams—were afterward missionaries to the Senecas in Indian Territory.

²Bennett's *History of Methodism in Wisconsin*, pp. 13, 14.

Cutting Marsh, M. D., "wrote¹ to Lieutenant (Jefferson) Davis, Fort Winnebago. Contents of the letter: First, the bill of the Bibles, &c. Second, urged the importance of his inquiring whether he could not do something for the moral renovation of the soldiers at the Fort. Love and gratitude to the Saviour should induce it immediately. Although alone, he should not feel that a sufficient excuse for declining to make an effort. * * * God has, without doubt, something for you to do in thus bringing you, as you hope, to the knowledge and to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus."

In one great hope entertained by the wiser Indians and their friends, they were sadly disappointed. We may quote from the speech of John Metoxen before the council of 1830: "You see, brothers, the white man is here; he has brought the strong water to sell to our people. * * * The Indian is good for nothing when he can get strong water." When his people had decided upon the emigration policy, John Sergeant their pastor had written: "Means will now be used to exclude spirituous liquor and white heathen from Green Bay." Remembering the fate of his people, there is heartache under our smile as we read the old man's fond dream. Spirituous liquor, we believe, has not been wholly excluded from Green Bay, though it is to be presumed, of course, that there are no white heathen there.

This peculiar emigration was the first that New York, which in some sense is the mother state of Wisconsin, sent to us. It brought hither, as we have seen, some of the best of our white pioneers. Its history cannot be told without telling that of the beginning of some of our most useful churches. It links the story of Wisconsin to the story of New England. It almost makes the Sergeants, Jonathan Edwards, Sampson Occom, and Samuel Kirkland our fellow-citizens. Surely the historian, the patriot, and the philanthropist may well rejoice over the coming to Wisconsin of the New York Indians. Some time, it may be, the story will be told in romance or in song.

¹Under date of July 25, 1831. See the writer's *In Unnamed Wisconsin*, p. 127.

THE STORY OF THE FOX-WISCONSIN RIVERS IMPROVEMENT.¹

BY JOHN BELL SANBORN, PH. D.

Before an audience in the city of Green Bay it will probably be considered superfluous to more than refer to the characteristics of the water route between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, formed by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. To the Indian and the explorer, it seemed the one especially marked by nature for passage from Lake Michigan to the Father of Waters. The portages around the rapids and across the plain at Fort Winnebago were of small moment to the navigators of light canoes, and the natural state of the rivers sufficed for the needs of early travel and transportation.²

But advancing civilization demanded larger vessels for the carrying of the heavier freights from the interior of Wisconsin and the states west of the Mississippi. And the route which at once suggested itself, when a connection between the Mississippi and the Lakes was desired, was the Fox-Wisconsin. To make the route available for this new commerce, it was necessary that extensive improvements be carried on, and I wish to give this morning a brief account of the efforts made by this State and the United States to render the rivers navigable for the purposes of

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

²Ascending Fox River from Lake Michigan to Lake Winnebago, there is a rise of about 170 feet; from Lake Winnebago to Portage, a further rise of about 65 feet, the navigation below Lake Winnebago being interrupted by rapids. After a portage of about a mile, to the Wisconsin River, the descent to the Mississippi is about 200 feet.

modern transportation ; efforts extending over three-quarters of a century and crowned with very small success. The story of this improvement has, I think, an interest both general and special. General, because it is an important example in American industrial history, showing attempts to carry on an enterprise first by a state, then by a corporation, and then by the general government. Special, because the prosperity of the country adjacent to the Fox and Wisconsin rivers has been in a large measure affected by this project.

The Wisconsin of territorial days had no capital to invest in the improvement of its rivers and so looked to Congress for aid in this enterprise. In 1829 a meeting was held in this city for the purpose of arousing interest in the matter and a memorial was sent to Congress asking that a canal be constructed at the portage between the rivers.¹ Congress was very slow to respond to this request and to requests for the improvement of the whole length of the Fox-Wisconsin route, but the territory continued to invoke public aid rather than move in the matter itself. We do, indeed, catch a glimpse of private enterprise in an act of 1834 by which the territorial council of Michigan incorporated the Portage Canal Company, with a capital stock of \$50,000. But this company seems to have begun and ended its existence with this act.

In 1839 the first evidence of national interest in the improvement plan appeared in the form of a survey made under the direction of the war department by Captain Cram.² This was followed by the more substantial aid of a grant of lands, made in 1846. This grant was for the specific purpose of improving the rivers and constructing a canal between them, and consisted of one-half of the land for three miles on each side of the canal, the Fox River and the lakes through which it passed.³ The

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 414.

² I have been unable to find the original report of Captain Cram, and so have used the abstracts from it in the report of the committee on internal improvements, *Assemb. Journ., Wis.*, 1848, p. 65-69.

³ *Statutes at Large*, ix, p. 83.

grant was made in alternate sections, according to the principle universally adopted by our government in its grants in aid of canals and railways, with the price of the land remaining to the government doubled so that there would be no loss to the treasury.¹

When the State government was organized a bill was introduced in the legislature accepting the grant. The assembly committee on Internal Improvements, to which the bill was referred, made a report which is a curious example of financial reasoning. They wished to show that the value of the lands was enough to enable the State to carry out the improvement without the appropriation of money. They did it in this manner: The estimate of the cost by Captain Cram was \$448,470. This was too high for the committee's purposes so they reduced it by 30 per cent on account of the more settled condition of the country, and because it was well known that it was too high. This made the estimate \$313,920. But Captain Cram had based his estimate on an assumed length of the Fox River of 166 miles. The committee, however, after reducing his estimate of the cost, increased his estimate of the length of the river to 200 miles, which would make the grant 384,000 acres, worth \$480,000 at the regular price of \$1.25 an acre.² From the above convincing reasoning they found that the grant was much more than ample for the proposed work. This optimism concerning the ability of the State to do this work is the more peculiar when we remember the recent failures of the other western states to construct internal improvements, and that the State constitution just adopted prohibited the incurring of any debt on such behalf.

The State law accepting the grant provided for a board of five members, elected by the legislature for one year, and called the Board of Public Works. They were directed to build the canal

¹ See Sanborn, "Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin (Economics, Political Science and History series)*, ii, No. 3, pp. 348, 349.

² *Assemb. Journ., Wis.*, 1848, pp. 65-69.

first and then to proceed with the improvement of both rivers at once, except that the work on the rapids below Lake Winnebago might begin at any time.¹

For a couple of years the prospects for the speedy completion of the contemplated work seemed bright. A steam dredge was constructed and put to work on the Upper Fox. Contracts were let for the canal and locks at Portage, and for the improvement at Rapide Croche. At De Pere it was found that Joshua F. Cox was so anxious that the work should be done on the east side of the river that he was willing to undertake it for one dollar; while Curtis Reed was to pay five thousand dollars for the privilege of building the northern channel at Winnebago Rapids. Sales of land had in 1849 amounted to \$59,500 and in 1850 to \$53,161.²

But the next year told a different story. The land sales seemed to have reached their limit and as this was the only source of revenue from which the board could meet its expenses the work at Grand Chute and Cedar Rapids had to stop for lack of funds. With liabilities of \$75,000 and only \$8,000 in the treasury affairs may well be termed in bad shape. This much we learn from the report of the Board.³

Rumors of mismanagement of the trust reposed in the Board of Public Works were probably rife throughout the State, and the legislature requested a statement from Caleb Croswell, a member of the Board, of his reasons for withholding his signature from the report. His reply showed that he had not agreed with the way affairs had been conducted, and, finding himself outvoted, had not wished to approve the acts of the majority.⁴ The legislature agreed with Croswell's view of the case and elected a new board in which he seems to have had practical control. The next year an investigating committee found that the affairs

¹*Laws of Wis.*, 1848, pp. 58-68.

²*Assemb. Journ., Wis.*, 1850, pp. 551, 559.

³*Id.*, 1851, pp. 1005-1015.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 1035-1046.

of the Board had been poorly managed but attributed this to the lack of experience of its members and political pressure brought on them to have work done in certain districts.¹

But the problem which presented itself was not how the work had been done in the past but how should it be done in the future. There was land in large quantities but no money could be obtained from it. At this juncture Morgan L. Martin came forward with a proposition by which the improvement could soon be finished. His offer was as follows: He would do the remainder of the work at the same rate as the contract price for that at Cedar Rapids, to be paid for out of the sales of the lands, or if these proved insufficient, the deficit was to remain as a debt against the improvement, bearing interest at twelve per cent, to be paid whenever the State wished.² This plan was approved by the legislature and a contract entered into with Martin.³

When Governor Farwell came into office the next year he stopped the issue of scrip to Martin, some \$26,000 of which had been paid, giving as his opinion that the contract was both contrary to the granting act, because it anticipated the sales of the lands, and contrary to the State constitution, because it created a debt for an internal improvement.⁴ As he refused to issue further scrip to Martin the legislature passed an act directing the secretary of state to do so.⁵ This Governor Farwell refused to sign⁶ but the legislature, with the support of a favorable opinion from the attorney general, Experience Estabrook,⁷ passed the act over the veto.

Governor Farwell was not over-fond of the whole improvement scheme, and in a special message to the legislature in 1853

¹ *Report of Joint Select Committee* (Madison, 1852), pp. 4-6.

² *Senate Journ., Wis.*, 1851, pp. 77-83.

³ *Laws of Wis.*, 1851, p. 191.

⁴ *Senate Journ., Wis.*, 1852, pp. 15-16.

⁵ *Gen. Laws of Wis.*, 1852, ch. 340.

⁶ *Senate Journ., Wis.*, 1852, pp. 591-99.

⁷ *Assemb. Journ., Wis.*, 1852, App. pp. 47-50.

he advised that it be turned over to private parties.¹ The showing of the results up to that time was certainly such as to call for some action, with the estimated cost of the completion of the improvement \$500,000 and the estimated value of the unsold lands only \$230,000.² In accordance with the Governor's advice the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company was incorporated and all of the rights of the State in the improvement and all unsold lands were conferred on it. The State, however, retained the right to purchase the improvement at any time after twenty years at its actual cost over the value of the lands.³

The State had not received the entire amount of land contemplated in the original act as many of the alternate sections covered by the grant had been previously disposed of by the government. So in 1854 the passage of an act was secured authorizing the selection from any public lands in the State then subject to entry at \$1.25 an acre, of enough to make good this deficiency. The selection was to be made on the same principle as under the grant to Indiana for the Wabash and Erie canal.⁴ Now the grant for this canal had been for five miles on each side and the claim was at once set up that the intention of Congress had been to increase the Fox-Wisconsin grant to an equal amount. It is difficult to see such an intention in the act but the next year Congress declared by a resolution that the act of 1854 had given Wisconsin land "equal mile for mile of its improvement" to that granted Indiana.⁵

To whom did this increase in the grant belong? It was, of course, claimed by the Fox and Wisconsin company under the act of incorporation. But the State also set up a claim to it on the ground that only the lands then granted to the State had

¹ *Assemb. Journ., Wis.*, 1853, pp. 188-201.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Gen. Laws of Wis.*, 1853, pp. 92-98.

⁴ *Statutes at Large*, x, p. 345.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 724.

been conferred on the company.¹ In a controversy of this sort the State had the upper hand and in 1856 the company was required to reconstruct a portion of the improvement, and the improvement itself, as well as the lands then unsold, was placed in the hands of trustees who were to pay the indebtedness which the State had already incurred, and after that the bonds of the company.²

Under these conditions, and with its capital stock increased to \$250,000, the company went on with the work. But the available capital in the young State was insufficient to carry on the enterprise. Assistance from New York was requested, and prominent capitalists, including Horatio Seymour, Erastus Corning, and Hiram Barney, gave their support to the work. This aid, however, proved too much for our native financiers. The affairs of the company were soon in such a condition that the trustees were forced to sell the improvement and the remaining lands, which passed into the hands of the New York capitalists.³ The sum received from the sale was sufficient to pay the expense which had been incurred in the execution of the trust, the indebtedness which was then outstanding against the State, and to leave an amount equal to the estimated cost of the remainder of the improvement.⁴ The State thus retired from the field without financial loss, even if it had but little to show for twenty years of effort.

Those who had purchased at the sale organized as the Green Bay and Mississippi Canal Company. The sincerity of their intentions to carry on the improvement may well be doubted. At any rate the work did not long remain in the hands of the company. The interposition of Congress was secured and an appraisal ordered of the improvement, water power and lands of

¹ *Report of Select Committee* (Madison, 1856), pp. 37-44. See also communication of Theodore Conkey, *Assemb., Journ., Wis.*, 1856, pp. 179-30.

² *Gen. Laws of Wis.*, 1856, pp. 123-31.

³ See statement of Mr. Martin, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 413.

⁴ *Blue Book, Wis.*, 1870, p. 385.

the company. The board appointed for this purpose found that there had been expended on the work in the twenty-five years since the land grant had been made, over two million dollars. The value of the property of the company was fixed at \$1,048,070, and the law directed that there be deducted from that the amount raised from the sale of lands, or \$723,000, leaving \$325,000 to be paid the company. But it was further provided that the secretary of war might elect to purchase the whole property, or either the water power, the improvement or the personal property. The secretary decided that only the improvement should be bought and for this \$145,000, the sum fixed by the appraisers, was appropriated by Congress.¹

The Fox-Wisconsin improvement thus passed into the hands of the federal government, and since that time has been treated as any other piece of river improvement. Very considerable sums have been appropriated for the work, the greater part of which seems to have gone for damages to the property holders along the river. Work on the Fox River, particularly the part below Lake Winnebago, still continues, and additional appropriations have recently been made by Congress. But the particular interest in the story of the improvement has ceased.

Six hundred and eighty thousand acres of land, nearly two million dollars of private capital and as much more in public money expended on the two rivers, and with what result? Much has indeed been accomplished, particularly on the Lower Fox, where great water powers have been developed. But the result is hardly commensurate with the expenditure. That three separate agencies have tried their hand at the work, suggests that perhaps the forces of nature are here much more powerful than the originators of the scheme ever dreamed, and that we should be slow in blaming those who have had the work in charge.

Such is the story of the Fox-Wisconsin improvement. The route of the fur-trader was also to be that of modern commerce;

¹*House Exec. Docs.*, 2nd sess., 42nd cong., No. 185.

the waters which had carried the canoe were to bear the steamboat. But the task of effecting this change proved far greater than the early settlers had anticipated; and before further resources could be summoned to the work, the conditions had changed. The railroad superseded the canal, and transportation by water fell into abeyance. Now the conditions seem to be again changing, and perhaps the future may see the revival and continuance of the old Fox and Wisconsin improvement.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE FOX RIVER VALLEY.¹

BY ELLA HOES NEVILLE.

In our recent historic pilgrimages in and about Green Bay, we have passed over ground where heroes have trod, and hearkening back to beginnings have heard dramatic incident and romantic story with the sound of the merry boat song. Under and above these has come another tone that tells of the suffering and privations of those striving for the salvation of souls, or of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water who labored for the settlement of an unbroken wilderness.

Sometimes, in reviewing the past, we are tempted to idealize bygone events, and clothe people with characteristics not their own; to give to plain men courtly habiliments in which they are as out of place as Nicolet in his flowered robe; but in the light of unadorned facts, Green Bay was without question fortunate in the character of her first settlers. The quality of a community, if it grows slowly and in a natural way of development, is established by the character of its first inhabitants. Those who settled at the mouth of the Fox were men of honor and of ability, having possibly a little more than the usual amount of learning, with genial good temper, and the affable manners of the French.

Charles Langlade, whom we name as the Father of Wisconsin, had received some education from the early priests of Mackinac. Following him came Pierre Grignon, who mar-

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

ried Domitelle, Langlade's daughter. It was in their home and to the youths of their growing family, that the first a, b, c's in Wisconsin were taught.

The first schoolmaster was Jacques Porlier, who would have been a good model for the making of all future teachers of the State. He was a gentleman, well educated,—he had been trained for the priesthood,—open-hearted, genial, and with absolute integrity. His teaching of the young Grignons only lasted a twelvemonth. After that, for a time there were no schools, but the children were not left without some training. Such a smattering of learning as could be acquired by association with the intelligent people of the settlement, was considered sufficient for the sons; but the daughters were sent to be "finished" in the convents of Canada. There they were taught polite manners, fine sewing, a little music, and the correct use of the French language.

Soon after the coming of the American troops, in 1816, the first school was established at La Baye. It was taught by Monsieur and Madame Carron, who spent a brief time here en route for St. Louis. After that, there followed at irregular intervals teaching of varied quality as itinerant schoolmasters came and went. All of these schools were arranged for in advance, as to the number of pupils and price of tuition, and the expenses paid by subscription either in money or produce. They were taught in a room in one of the low-roofed log cabins that could be spared for the purpose, and were as primitive and undeveloped as the country.

The schools soon, however, outgrew such conditions, and in 1821 the first school-house was built on the grounds that now surround the residence of Mrs. M. L. Martin. It was conveniently located on the Indian trail that began at Louis Grignon's on the north and ran south along the river front to the upper country. It was a single-roomed log-house, soon too small for the increasing community, and a few years later a larger and more commodious building was erected on the highland near the

present residence of Thomas McLane. This stood midway between the houses of Louis Grignon and Lewis Rouse, they two paying most of the cost of its erection. There the children were grounded in mathematics to the rule of three, and Murray's grammar; the one who could teach these, and in addition geography, was considered to have reached a high attainment in learning.

Three kinds of schools flourished at one time and another at Green Bay—occasionally, all three at the same time. They were the private school, the post school, and the mission school. The first, as has been shown, was irregular and uncertain; it was soon followed by the opening of a more formal school at the garrison, for the benefit of the officers' children. A comfortable and commodious building was erected just outside the walls, and the school was taught first by Capt. Daniel Curtis, an ex-army officer, who remained but a brief time.

Then followed an interval of which we have no report. In 1822, Eleazar Williams arrived, bringing the New York Indians, and with him came A. G. Ellis, who later was a marked man in village and State. Mr. Ellis came to teach in an Episcopal mission school which Eleazar Williams was to open, but Williams had other schemes on foot, which interested him to the exclusion of mission work. Mr. Ellis, tired of the procrastination of the head of the expedition, opened a school on his own responsibility in an unused room of a small cabin occupied by a maiden on the banks of the Rivière Glase—Dutchman's Creek. Robert Irwin provided the primitive furnishings necessary, and the school opened prosperously. It had continued but a short time, when the occupant of the house unexpectedly decided on matrimony, and required the whole of the building. A reluctant consent was obtained from Mr. Williams, and the school was removed to a room in the old Agency House, situated quite near. Again a wedding was a bar to its success; Williams, who had fallen in love with one of Mr. Ellis's pupils, married her, and once more the school was homeless.

In the course of time, at the solicitation of the people, Mr. Ellis opened a private school at the Rouse school house, of which he wrote: "It met my most sanguine expectations and was satisfactory to the patrons. I also began lay reading on Sundays at Shantytown and organized an Episcopal Sunday school."

The history of the schools of this period is only the history of beginnings. Mr. Ellis is soon found teaching at the larger and more recently-erected post school house. To secure his service, the commandant was obliged to effect a compromise with the villagers, who wished to retain him in their own school; and to make matters satisfactory, about thirty of the resident children were admitted to the larger and better-equipped school of Fort Howard. This was under military discipline, the officers of the day visiting it each afternoon, while the Friday afternoon exercises were attended in style by General Brady and his staff.

There were but six or eight families in the settlement, and about as many living within the fort. The elder people found pleasure in the exchange of civilities, but with the children it was otherwise, and we are told by one who recalls those early days, that the little natives who were ferried across the river for the day's schooling often taunted their companions from the garrison with being "Bostonians" or "Yankees,"—terms implying the greatest scorn,—and fierce squabbles were often the result.

The last attempt at a mission school for the Indians was under the direction of the Episcopalians. It was opened in 1827 by Richard F. Cadle and his sister, in a building known as the officers' quarters at the deserted Camp Smith. J. V. Suydam joined them later, as assistant. Only three pupils appeared during the first week; this number gradually increased to over 300, but again dwindled to almost none.

A large tract of land was secured just north of Camp Smith, extensive buildings erected, and the school conducted at a great

expense, for the children were housed, clothed, and fed as well as taught; but the results did not meet expectations. The children objected to restraint, with which they were unaccustomed, and at last refused to attend, saying they found more pleasure in their original state than in learning geography. After a few years of faithful service, Mr. Cadle, broken in health and spirit, resigned; soon after the school was closed. Year after year the buildings stood, a monument to earnest endeavor left without fruition, until they finally fell into decay and have now entirely disappeared.

Father Samuel Mazzuchelli designed and erected during his incumbency a Roman Catholic church and school house. For two years a flourishing convent school was conducted there, by two nuns of the order of Poor Clairice. In the fearful cholera visitation of 1833-34, the mother superior, Sister Clare, with her companion, rendered devoted service in nursing the sick, even assisting in the burial of the dead.

Such in brief was the beginning of learning in the valley of the Fox; but it will be a mistake if the impression is left that education was only acquired through the schools. Strangers visiting this section as early as the 20's expressed themselves as impressed with the training which the children, as well as those of more advanced years, had had in the formulae of religion, which not only are a part of the making of character, but also of that which builds towards culture and the highest refinement. From the olden time when Père André taught his band of little ones to sing the songs of the church, and went with them up and down the land, teaching them lessons of divine love, to the later period when Father Mazzuchelli labored in this vineyard, the instruction of the child was the first care.

The school rooms, however, were used for other purposes than the teaching of young ideas; in them, during the long winters when the community was snow-bound and cut off from outside communication, the Green Bay Lyceum met at "early

candle light," and discussed all sorts of intricate and unsolvable questions. In the same place, on other nights, an actively conducted temperance society held its meetings, and sent its influence abroad in a place where the savages were being debauched by the exchange of firewater for the produce of the chase.

All this activity soon developed a new educator, and in 1833 the first newspaper of Wisconsin, the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, edited by J. B. Suydam, made its semi-monthly appearance.¹ In the leading column of the first page were the poems, sometimes contributed but more frequently copied from well-known authors, followed by short stories or essays on "Domestic Happiness," "Eternity," "The Sabbath," or other topics of a similar character. On the second page, in the place of the editorials on tariff reform, or our relations with foreign countries, more selections on such subjects as "Sacred Music," "The Bobolink," "Death," or "My Mother." There was a noticeable lack of local or personal items, and important news from the outside world was stated with the preface, "By a gentleman from Washington." Points made by the editor, which he feared might escape the reader's attention, were italicized and further marked by a "fist" at the beginning and end of sentences, or in the middle of a paragraph, thus giving an odd appearance to the page. As the wonders of steam and electricity penetrated to this new country, the old *Intelligencer* gave place to live, up-to-date newspapers, which have been continually growing in merit, until today the local press of the Fox River valley is second to none in the state.

In course of time the plan of the first schools was relegated to the backwoods. As early as 1849 the present school system was put in operation. One of the most remarkable events in our history was the almost unanimous vote polled in favor of the present free schools, and the readiness with which it was

¹This description of Wisconsin's first newspaper is taken from *Historic Green Bay*, pp. 266, 267.

put in operation, while other states were violently opposing it. In 1848, Lawrence University was founded, and around it the city of Appleton has grown. This is the natural outgrowth of the log-cabin school period, as is also the splendid normal school at Oshkosh, which yearly sends into city and country well-trained and well-equipped men and women as teachers of the young, thus exerting a more powerful influence on the intellectual development of this region than any other factor.

In the natural evolution of development, the lyceum period did not last long, but it led to the need of books, and with wealth and opportunity the home libraries grew apace. For a time these supplied such demand for reading as there was, and lasted until 1863, when the first public library was opened in Fond du Lac, managed by a library association which defrayed the expenses by lecture courses and other forms of entertainment. Five years later, the same sort of a library was started in Oshkosh. But in time both of these libraries were turned over to their respective cities, and their names changed to "public libraries."

In 1889, a library was started in Green Bay on another plan, which made it at once the ward of the city. Through the wisdom and the foresight of Rufus B. Kellogg, who liberally endowed the library, the fund was placed with the city. Mr. Kellogg purchased \$15,000 of the city's bonds, and cancelled them on the pledge of the city, decided by popular vote, to pay towards the support of the library the sum of \$900 annually for fifty years. The management of the library was thus entrusted to the municipality, and it could only grow slowly as the demand was created for it, the benefit of which wise provision has been shown by the interest and pride the people have taken in it, making it a library not only for but of the people, fostered and cared for by the city, with a gradually increasing income. Since Mr. Kellogg's death it has been called the Kellogg Public Library.

Another name in the Fox River valley that will ever be written in letters of gold is that of E. D. Smith, of Menasha,

who gave to that city its magnificent new library building and fifteen traveling libraries for the vicinity. Oshkosh is also building a beautiful and artistic library edifice, on which is inscribed in large letters in panels under its portico on either side of the entrance, the names Harris and Sawyer, two men who have generously contributed for its erection. Appleton is soon to be housed in a handsome new building erected by the people. These, with the prosperous library at Neenah, are the larger ones of the district; but, after all, it has been wisely said, it is not the few great libraries but the many small ones that do most good for the people in the work of popular education; and so we rejoice that there are smaller libraries dotted through the valley, those at De Pere, Kaukauna, and Berlin having the most importance.

While the libraries have been increasing in number and size, a new power for the development of intellectual life has arisen in the women's clubs which today exist in nearly every town in the State washed by the running waters of the Fox. The movement began in the small study class, composed of a few women meeting at stated times to read for pleasure and entertainment. This held the club together until a higher thought was engendered, that of responsibility towards self development, when more serious courses of study were adopted, officers elected, and the meetings conducted according to parliamentary usage. Today clubs have come to mean more than help to the individual; they stand for the elevation of all women, and the betterment of the communities in which they exist.

The Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs is composed today of 115 clubs; of this number, 24 are in the Fox River valley,—26, if we include that section known in the past as the region of La Baye, and add Marinette. There are other clubs, not in the federation, that would increase the number possibly a third more, and bring the individual membership from 800 up to 1,000. The first club to organize along the Fox was "The Friends in Council," of Berlin, in 1873. The Green Bay "Shakespeare Club" comes next, in 1877, and

one month later the "Study Class" of Oshkosh was formed. During the next decade, thirteen new clubs began work in the State, of which five were in our own district. All later clubs of the Federation date their beginning during the past ten years. These statistics, taken from the Federation directory of 1898-99, show that very much of the activity of the past quarter of a century was along this valley; we now see its influence in our fine schools, our increasing libraries,—which, since the beginning of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission and the organization of the Federation, have grown in the State from 44 to 77, at the rate of eleven each year,—and in our system of traveling libraries. The Green Bay Woman's club has eleven of these libraries circulating in Brown county. The City Federation of Berlin, five for Green Lake county; and the Marinette Woman's Club, nine for that county.

Thus we see the benefit of the club, and the development of the true altruistic spirit that makes of the once small study class the ideal, unlimited club of today. The Federation was formed in November, 1896, and since then both of its presidents have been chosen from the banks of the Fox.

In this necessarily brief and consequently imperfect sketch, we have seen the log cabin school grow into the university and the graded school; the lyceum period into the free public library; the four-paged Green Bay *Intelligencer* into the mighty newspaper of today; and lastly have glanced at that which, like a composite picture, is the outgrowth of all—the woman's club and the Wisconsin Federation.

These are the great powers that have developed and stimulated our intellectual life in the valley of the Fox. We who have reaped these benefits from the past, who dwell in this sisterhood of cities threaded like jewels on the silver ribbon of the stream that runs past our doors, love our fertile valley and

Unto us she hath a spell beyond
Her name in story and her long array
Of mighty shadows.

THE OUTAGAMIE VILLAGE AT WEST MENASHA.¹

BY PUBLIUS V. LAWSON.

At Ouestatinong, then the only village of the Outagamie, Father Allouez established in 1670 the Jesuit mission of St. Mark. It was, in my opinion, on the headwaters of the Little Wolf River in Waupaca county. It contained "more than 200 cabins, in each of which there are five, or six, or even ten families"—(Dablon). "This nation is renowned for being numerous. They have more than 400 men bearing arms. The number of women and children is greater on account of polygamy, which exists among them, each man having commonly four wives, some of them six, and others as high as ten. * * * They have a fort in the midst of the forest," where their bark cabins are, so says Allouez. To explain when the Outagamie abandoned this forest home, and where and when they built their next village, is the object of this paper.

Charlevoix says it was "on the Fox river of Green Bay;" Mr. Strong, "at Little Butte des Morts;" and Mr. Thwaites, "somewhere in the neighborhood of Winnebago Rapids" (Nee-nah). Parkman's locations are topographically impossible. Neither De Louvigny's report of his expedition (1716), nor the official report of the De Lignery expedition (1728), mention the location. To Father Crespel, who was with the De Lignery expedition, are we indebted for the few details which aid us to restore to modern history the place where these stirring events in our early annals occurred.

¹Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

By his account, at midnight of August 17 they reached "the post at the Bay," with 400 French and 900 Indians. Some of them crossed the river to surprise the enemy at the Sac village, but all had gone, except as Beauharnois reports: "He [Lignery] took at this post before daybreak, three Puants of the Foxes and one Fox. * * * These four savages were bound and sent to the tribes who put them to death the next day. He afterward continued his march." Crespel mentions, "the pleasure which our savages took in making those unfortunate persons suffer, causing them to undergo the horrors of thirty deaths before depriving them of life, * * * who after having diverted themselves with them shot them to death with their arrows."

As the savages had this pleasure to enjoy on the 18th, and the party had not rested the night before, nor since their seven-day canoe voyage from Mackinac, it is reasonable to expect they did not leave until the morning of the 19th.

Crespel says, "after this little *coup de main* we went up Fox river, which is full of rapids and is about thirty-five or forty leagues in length. The 24th of August we arrived at the village of the Puants" [Winnebagoes]. Time of day not given, although we gather from the events that it was in the forenoon. Hence the ascent of the river took from five to six days.

It would require all of this time to breast the rapids and reach Lake Winnebago at the head of Doty Island, now Neenah. It took Father Allouez three days with a single canoe. Capt. Jonathan Carver was five days going up from Green Bay to the Winnebago village; and Mr. Gallup made the voyage to Oshkosh with a six-ton lighter and thirteen Indians, in seven days.

This army of French and Indians, we estimate had with them ammunition, armament, fusileers, baggage, subsistence, and goods for presents and trade, all conveyed in not less than 500 canoes made of birch bark. It was a formidable array. The distance was thirty-four miles, in which the river has a fall of 170 feet in twenty-eight miles—eleven feet more than Niag-

ara Falls. Captain Whiting, who went up with a regiment in 1819, reports: from the rapids at De Pere to Grand Chute (Appleton) the "current is generally so rapid as to render tow line and setting poles necessary." At Kaukauna all baggage must be portaged 1,000 yards by land. At "Grand Chute there is a perpendicular fall of about four feet, all across the river, and boats have to be unloaded and the baggage transported 500 yards by land." The total fall at Kaukauna is fifty feet, at Grand Chute thirty-eight feet, and Little Chute thirty-eight feet. In eleven miles of the distance there is a total fall of 138 feet.

It is marvelous that this throng of unmanageable savages and frontier soldiery could have been urged to the task of surmounting these foaming, dangerous breakers, within so short a time, as nearly every part of this rushing torrent must be waded, dragging the canoes against the surging current, with bare feet cut and slashed on the flinty stone beneath.

It was Doty Island then, where they arrived on the 24th, at "the village of the Puants." We know the Winnebago Indians had their village there when Nicolet came in 1634, and Carver found them with the mother of the De Corah chiefs, in 1766, and they were still there in 1816. Some of their corn hills and the mounds made by the earth heaped against their palisades, can still be seen.

Crespel next relates that after burning their wigwams and ravaging their fields of corn they "crossed over the Little Fox lake, at the end of which we camped." This lake is known to us at Little Lake Butte des Morts. Doty Island forms part of its eastern shore, hence they crossed to the west side of the lake.

Continuing, Father Crespel says, "the next day after mass, we entered a small river which conducted us into a kind of a swamp, on the borders of which is situated the grand habitation of" the Foxes.

Of the four creeks and sloughs that might be thus described, we have selected Sill's Creek, which enters Little Lake Butte

des Morts at its lower or northern end, about two miles diagonally across the lake from Doty Island. Its mouth is now blocked by rice and reeds; it is nearly a dry run; boats could not enter except in spring. It is traced on the map through the towns of Menasha and Clayton for about six miles. Perch and pickerel have been speared a mile up stream.

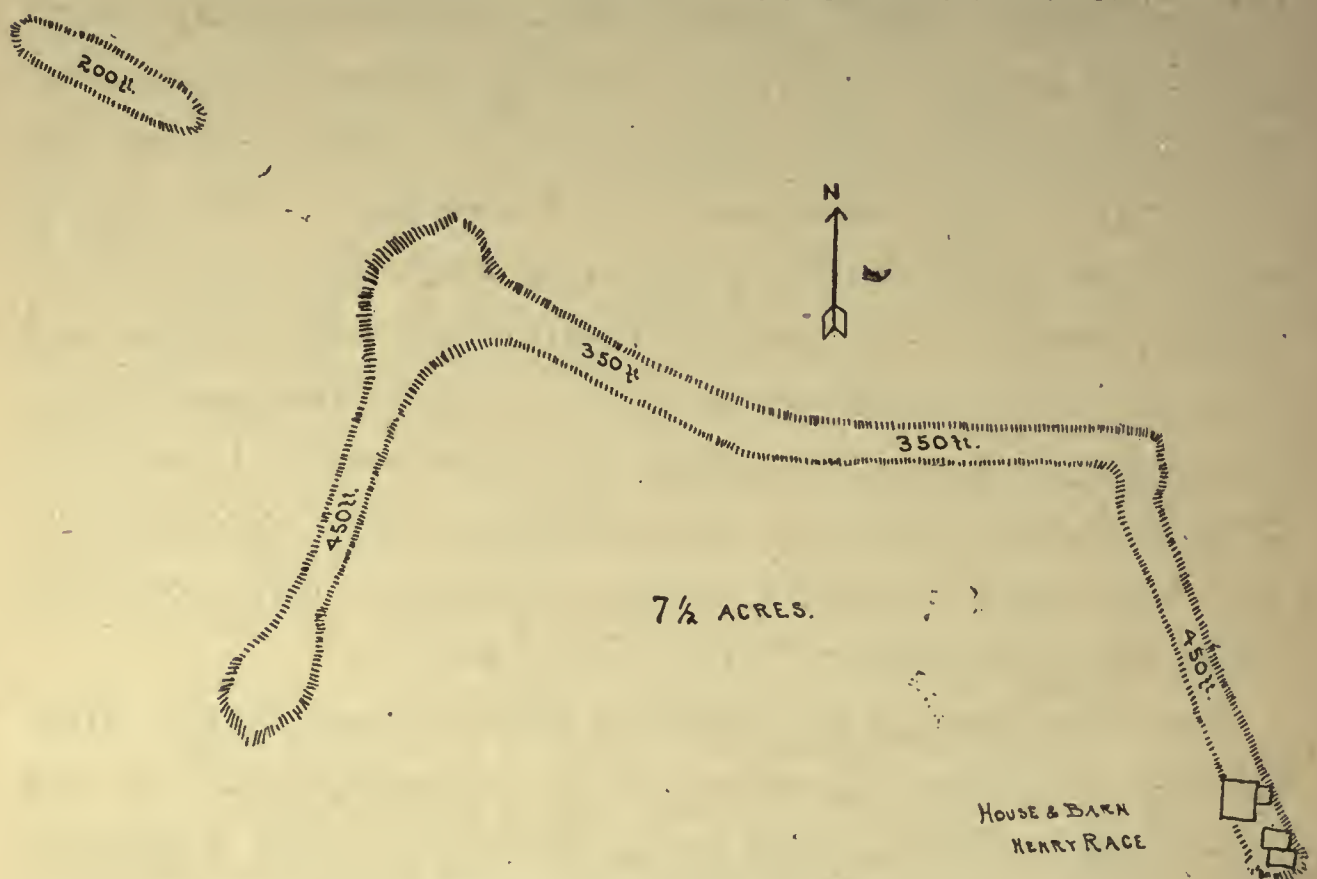
Two summers ago I found a line of earth mounds several rods south of the "small river," which I have no doubt was the earth heaped at the base of the palisades enclosing the Outagamie village abandoned 171 years ago. The ancient mounds are located in the southeast quarter, town 20 north of range 17 east, on the farm of Henry Race, whose house and barn are erected on part of it, in the town of Menasha, Winnebago county, about three-quarters of a mile west of Little Lake Butte des Morts, about a mile southwest from the mouth of the "small river" or Sill's Creek, and about a mile northwest of the site of the famous "Hill of the Dead."

The central part of the mound is 700 feet long, its two wings 450 feet, enclosing $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It is 3 feet high and 25 feet on the base. The land east and south of the mound is reported by those living there in an early day to have been low and wet; it still shows traces of this. The lands to the west rise by gentle slope to higher lands, underlaid by Trenton limestone. The whole, including the mounds, has been enclosed in cultivated fields, plowed over during twenty years.

As shown in the plan, one corner is rectangular, the other corner has a considerable enlargement about fifty feet in diameter, and the end of the west wing has also a wide enlargement about the same size. These bastion-like extensions, I presume, were the sites of the block houses, the "curtains" of which it was Louvigny's intention to breach for his intended assault, and for which purpose he had "the boxes properly placed." Parkman's account includes some impossible burrowing, which, difficult even in mellow soil, is not borne out by the reports; and as the solid rock is within five feet of the surface and the

earth glacial till and hard pan, this was an impossible occurrence.

The report made by Louvigny says he "trenched" up to within twenty-four yards of the fort. The breast-work made by trenching 183 years ago can still be seen about one foot high, but the trench has disappeared.



PLAN OF OUTAGAMIE PALISADE.

Located in southeast corner of section 8, town of Menasha, Winnebago county, Wis. Platted by the author.

Having found the location of the Outagamie village, which France twice sent an army to destroy, it would be interesting to know when the Outagamies abandoned their forest village on the Little Wolf River, and erected their home among the oak openings under the shadow of Butte des Morts, among the pre-historic remains of at least two races, the mound builder and the clam eater.

Oüestatinong was not their ancient home. Allouez says: "These savages have retreated to these parts to escape the persecutions of the Iroquois." From the location of the other nations and various data, I conclude that the Outagamies came from Lower Michigan. That when they made their appearance before

Detroit in 1712 with their women and children, they did not go there to fight, but to reclaim their native land. Upon being driven away by the French and Indians at the battle of Detroit, they returned to Wisconsin and settled in West Menasha. Then it was that they built the new village under their famous chief, Pemousa, as we have shown. They were there in 1728—sixteen years after their rout at Detroit. In 1716, their palisades of “triple oak stakes” were strong enough; for Louvigny reports, “after three days of open trenches, sustained by a continuous fire of fusileers, with two pieces of cannon and a grenade mortar, * * * my balls had not the effect I anticipated,” and he prepared to “explode two mines under their curtains.” Louvigny, after the surrender of the stronghold, did not destroy it. There was no reason why the Outagamies should move out of it. This is a very convincing reason why it is the same village that Father Crespel locates, and hence was established as early as 1716.

There is no evidence that they had any other village. It is true that October 18, 1699, Father Cosme arrived at Green Bay to make the Fox River route to the Mississippi River, but found it impracticable, owing to the opposition of the Fox Indians, “who will not suffer my person to pass for fear they will” supply the Sioux with arms—(Thwaites). But this is no evidence of the Outagamies residing on the Fox River. “Foxes” was a general term often applied to all Fox River Indians, and included the Sacs, Winnebagoes, Mascoutins, and Kickapoos, as well as Outagamies—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 92, 93).

There is nothing to prove that the Outagamies ever had a village on Big Lake Butte des Morts, above Oshkosh, or that any tribe ever had a village in the angle between the confluence of the Wolf and Fox rivers, where Snelling locates the scene of the “Saque massacre,” so often perverted into Fox massacre, and variously located to suit the fancy of the relator. No village could be located there, as it is a vast marsh three square miles in extent.

Parkman is in error when he states of the De Lignery expedition, 1728, that the Outagamie village "consisted of bark wigwams, without palisades or defense of any kind," for the official report of Beauharnois to the French minister of war says he did burn "the four Fox villages, their forts and their huts." The "four Fox villages" refer to Sac, Winnebago, Outagamie, and Mascoutin villages.

The present remains of the Outagamie village in West Menasha show the line of palisade to have been 1,600 feet long, made of "triple oak stakes." Estimating each pole as four inches diameter, it would require to complete the work 14,400 poles, or twenty-seven car-loads. There was abundance of oak in the vicinity.

The south side of the enclosure has no mound, or trace of any. The soil is rich black vegetable mould, twelve inches deep, while the soil of the enclosure mound is red clay on the east side and clay and gravel on the west side. The open side may have been protected by bark lodges.

The extent of area, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, protected by this palisade, conforms to the requirements of the population as given by De Louvigny—500 warriors and 3,000 women. No mention is made of children. At Ouestatinong there lived in 1670 about 4,000 souls, housed in 200 cabins, an average of twenty people to each wigwam, estimating three feet in length for each person, makes the average cabin sixty feet long. In this West Menasha village of over 3,500 people, by the same estimate, there would be not less than 175 lodges of an average size of sixty feet in length, and at least twenty feet broad. If all were in the enclosure, they would occupy two-thirds of the space and require twenty car-loads of materials, poles, bark and reeds, for their construction. These estimates make forty-seven loads of material used in the construction of the village, which must have been obtained by considerable enterprise and laborious exertion. There are 2,200 yards of earth in the mounds. This furnishes a very good reason for the opinion that this village was estab-

lished as early as 1712, the time of the retreat of the Outagamies from Detroit, as it was quite complete to sustain the vigorous onslaught of De Louvigny four years later, and withstand a three days' siege without breach or injury.

The savages had iron axes for this work of felling trees, for Allouez, as early as 1670, presented them to the Mascoutins within a few days after his visit to the Foxes, and would be very likely to leave them such presents also. Among the numerous Indian implements found at West Menasha and in the vicinity, are a large number of iron tomahawks. Nearly all of these have the cross of St. Andrew and St. Patrick stamped near the shank, by indenting the arms of a Maltese cross.

EARLY DAYS AT KAUKAUNA.¹

BY HERBERT BATTLES TANNER, M. D.

Kaukauna is a city of about 6,000 inhabitants, situated on both sides of the Lower Fox River in Outagamie county, seven miles northeast from Appleton, the county seat, and twenty-one miles southwest of Green Bay. The history of Kaukauna as a city and a place of some commercial importance only reaches back some nineteen years; but the Grand Kaukauna has a history stretching far back into the past.

Kaukauna, as the name of a certain fixed locality in Wisconsin, upon which a settlement was made, growing into a city, and retaining its original name, is the oldest-mentioned locality in Wisconsin. For while Nicolet, the first white man to visit Kaukauna (which he did in 1634), and some of the Jesuit missionaries mention Chagoumigong (Chequamegon Bay), Winnebago, Outagamie, Bay of the Puants, Bay de Verde, etc.,—all names that have some connection with Wisconsin,—it remains as an established fact that no identical place by the names mentioned is inhabited as a city or place of abode. But to Kaukauna remains the honor of tracing her name in history back to the 18th day of April, 1670, when Claude Allouez says, in the *Jesuit Relations*, in describing his journey up the Fox River: “The eighteenth we made the portage which they call Kakaling; our sailors drew the canoe through the rapids; I walked on the banks of the river, where I found apple trees and vine stalks in abundance.”

¹Address before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

The natural beauty and grandeur of the rapids have been destroyed during the process of improving the river for navigation and for water power purposes, but much of the landscape retains its original aspect; wild grape vines and crab apple trees are now found on the north side of the river near the foot of the rapids, close beside the lower sulphur spring. The beauty of this place must have made a vivid impression upon these early missionaries, for they frequently mention the rapids.

Claude Dablon, who accompanied Father Allouez on his journey up this river in the month of September, 1670, says:

If the country of this nation has something of the beauty of a terrestrial paradise we may say that the road that leads to it is also in some manner like that which our Lord represents to arrive at Heaven. For scarcely do we advance one day's journey in the river at the extremity of the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), when we find three or four leagues of rapids to contend with. More difficult than those which are commonly found in other rivers, in this, that the flints, over which we must walk with naked feet to drag the canoes, are so sharp and so cutting, that one has all the trouble in the world to hold one's self steady against the great rushing of the waters.

The fact that the river falls 52 feet in the course of a mile, right in front of the city of Kaukauna, over a series of rapids, dashing over large rocks and between small islands, all of the time on a solid limestone bed, causes us to appreciate the difficulties those poor missionaries had to contend with in navigating this stream with their canoes.

In the same letter, Claude Dablon says:

At the falls of these rapids, we found an idol that the savages honored at this place, never failing, in passing, to make some sacrifice of tobacco, or arrows, or paintings, or other things, to thank him that by his assistance they had, in ascending, avoided the dangers of the water falls which are in these streams, or else if they had to descend, to pray him to aid them in this perilous navigation. It is a rock formed naturally in the shape of a man's bust, of which from a distance, seems to be distinguished the head, and the shoulders, the bust, but much more the face, which the by-passers ordinarily paint with their handsomest colors.

To take away this cause of idolatry, we caused it to be lifted up by the strength of arm, and cast into the depths of the river, to appear

no more. After one has passed these ways, equally rough and dangerous, as a recompense for all these difficulties which one has to overcome, we enter into the most beautiful country that can ever be seen.

I have searched repeatedly for the idol thus mentioned, particularly when the river was low or the water shut off entirely, but so far unsuccessfully. I hope some day to be able to find it.

Kaukauna must have an unknown history dating back many years. This and other facts point to it as a famous gathering place of the Indians. They came here to fish, and to plant corn; and many of the islands were used as burial places.

The improvements in the river, and the paper mills, have destroyed the fishing in a measure; but in its natural state it was a famous fishing place; the pickerel and many other kinds of fish could not go readily farther up the stream owing to the rapids and water falls, and it is from that the city derives its name. The original in the language of the Indians was "O Gau Gau Ning," meaning the stopping place of the pickerel, or the pickerel fishing grounds.

In old letters and early histories, some twenty-five or thirty different ways of spelling the name have been found; the principal ones are as follows: Dablon in 1670, says Kakaling; Robert Dickson, in 1809, says Kakalin; Louis Grignon, in 1824, says Grand Cakalin, and later it was mentioned Cockalo. The post office department in 1840 spelled it Kaukalau. George W. Lawe, who was popularly called "the Father of Kaukauna," settled the matter of spelling it, when he placed his plat of the town on record as Kaukauna.

Henry R. Schoolcraft visited Kaukauna August 19th, 1820, and in his *Sources of the Mississippi River*, spells it Kakala, and says he thinks it means a portage. In reference to the antiquity of this place he says:

We found the portage path to be a well beaten wagon road across a level fertile plain, which appeared to have been in cultivation from the earliest Indian period. Probably it has been a locality for the tribes, where they raised their favorite maize, long before the French first reached the waters of Green Bay. Evidence of such antiquity in the plain of Kakala appeared in an ancient cemetery of a circular shape,

situated on one side of the road, on a comparatively large surface which had reached the height of some eight or ten feet by the mere accumulation of graves. This has all the appearance of a sepulchral mound, in the slow process of construction; on viewing it, I found a recent grave. We passed on this plain, a Winnebago lodge, embracing two hundred souls; the portage is continued just one mile.

Nothing is known of any permanent white settler locating here previous to the year 1793. In that year, Dominique Ducharme purchased a large tract of land from the Indians on the north side of the river, for two barrels of rum. This deed is on record in Green Bay, and is probably the oldest deed given in the State of Wisconsin. I once had the original of another deed given to Jacob Franks in 1794, for land adjoining that deeded to Ducharme on the north side of the river, also a large tract of land on the south side of the river; this is now in the library of the State Historical Society, and can be found in vol. 58, p. 2, Lawe, Boyd, and Porlier Papers.

Paul Ducharme succeeded his brother Dominique as a settler here, and later he deeded a part of his land to Augustin Grignon. Augustin also acquired land through deeds from the Indians both to himself and to his wife, Nancy McCrea. He settled here in 1812, and the ruins of some of the buildings he erected are still standing. He lived here until he moved to Butte des Morts, his son Charles remaining. In 1840, he built a large house which is still occupied by his children.

Ebenezer Childs, who was a son-in-law of Augustin Grignon, was appointed postmaster here in 1829. This was the second post office established in the State north of Milwaukee; he held the office for one year, then resigned.

The coming of the Stockbridge and other Indians from New York marks a distinct period in the history of Kaukauna. This occurred about the year 1822, when they began to arrive in small bands and settled on lands given them by the Menomonees on the south side of the river. They brought the first Protestant church to Wisconsin, and they built the first Protestant church building in the State in 1828. Davidson, in his *Unnamed Wis-*

consin, says that owing to the burning of the Catholic church at Shantytown in this year, the church at Kaukauna stood as the only church building in the entire State. They also built the second frame building in the State; it stood where the railway round house stands today. Jesse Miner, the first settled Protestant pastor in the State, came here in 1828, and preached to these Christian Indians; he died shortly after this, and his remains now lie buried in the Kelso cemetery. His tombstone bears this inscription:

In memory of Jesse Miner, born Sept. 26th, 1781. Commenced Moheakumuk mission at this place June 20th, 1828. Died March 22, 1829; aged 49. "And he shall assemble the outcasts of Israel."

We believe that the first free school in the state was started in this mission building by Electa Quinney; she lies buried in the cemetery at Stockbridge. In June, 1828, Mr. Miner writes back east that "eight natives joined the church and fifteen others are indulging in hopes, meetings refreshing and full on the Sabbath." This was doubtless the first Protestant revival in Wisconsin.

Next to the old deeds of lands at Kaukauna, the oldest letter I have been able to find is a certificate given by Robert Dickson to Jacob Franks, given at Kaukauna August 31, 1806; another is one in French, written by Augustin Grignon to his brother Louis, dated at Kacalin, April 30, 1815. I have one in my possession written by Judge John Lawe to Mr. Rolette, dated at Kaukauna, August 22, 1822.

The names that stand out most prominently in connection with the history of Kaukauna, are those of Dominique Ducharme, the first white settler; Augustin Grignon, who was the most prominent Indian trader and man of influence in his day, and who occupies a prominent place in Wisconsin history by reason of his "Recollections" published in the third volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; his two sons, Charles and Alexander, who succeeded him here; and George W. Lawe, who came in 1839 and lived here continuously until his death in 1895.

Mr. Lawe owned and platted the land upon which the business portion of the north side is built, and was a very prominent man in all things pertaining to Kaukauna.

The oldest living native of Kaukauna is Mrs. Margaret M. Beaulieu. She was born in a log cabin on the south side, near the ruins of the old Beaulieu saw mill, on March 7th, 1826.

MODERN DE PERE.¹

BY E. FLETCHER PARKER.

There has been so much said within the last twenty-four hours about the early history of De Pere, that I leave that part, and relate some incidents of the history since the real settlement. In passing, I wish to say that from the authority of Nannie, who lived with Mrs. Williams, just below where you landed on Fox River yesterday in going to Mrs. Williams's, but now under water, was the chief burial places of the Winnebagos.

It is a long time from 1671 to 1829, but during all these years there is nothing of any great importance known with regard to De Pere. If there was any settlement there, and there must have been, it was so small and of so little consequence that there is very little record of it. I say there must have been, for when William Dickenson went there, he purchased his land from a man who was in possession of a French claim, and had a house back from the river, towards the hill.

The real settlement was begun when Dickenson came in 1829. It is related that there were no other settlers there at that time, except one or two French families. His wife was so lonesome that her family, Robert Irwin's, Sr., came and occupied a house near where J. W. Childs's residence now stands. When I came to De Pere in 1866, many of the old fruit trees were still standing where George W. Willits's and R. J. McGeehan's dwellings now stand.

Dickenson made himself particularly interested in getting

¹Address before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 7, 1899.

people to settle there, and for a few years following many came. In 1832 there were enough settlers and a school was started. In 1835, the De Pere Hydraulic Company was organized, and the original town and Dickenson's Addition were platted; and the same year, 1835, Dickenson commenced his grand residence known as "Dickenson's Folly," where the dwelling formerly occupied by C. R. Merrill, now stands. The panic of 1837 found this house unfinished, the old fashioned cupola in the center of the roof was never enclosed, and the rains descended and the winds blew and beat upon that house; it stood it pretty well, but the rain going down through this cupola was too much for it, and finally destroyed it. Years afterwards it was torn down, and all there is left of it, that I know of, are the windows now in the old stone school house.

In 1836, Wm. Dickenson, Charles Fuller, and J. P. Arndt were authorized by act of legislature to build a dam at De Pere, across Fox River. In 1836 and 1837, the first dam was built. In 1837, this same company was authorized by the legislature to issue bills to pass as money. A bank was started in the building now owned and occupied by T. E. Sharp, which then stood where John Steckart's meat market now stands. This building has had a checkered career. It has been used as a bank, village clerk's office, school house, Episcopal church, and now as a furniture wareroom. The bank for circulating medium, obtained the bills of the Philadelphia Loan Company. I have one of these bills in my possession here today.

In 1836, by vote of the people, the county seat of Brown county was established at De Pere. This made a good deal of feeling with some of the good people of Green Bay, especially those who held office; one who died a few years ago, held the office of county clerk. He walked back and forth every night and morning in good weather, and always carried his broom. Some one asked him why he did this, and he said he believed if he left it in De Pere the people would steal it. It remained the county seat until 1854, when Green Bay,—I won't say stole

it; but the majority voted in favor of Green Bay. De Pere did its best to retain the county seat; it colonized from Manitowoc county all the loose voters it could find. The court house and jail combined was built here while it was the county seat, and remained standing until the spring of 1871, when it was destroyed by fire.

In 1838 the first Sunday school was started. It was some time after this before regular church services were established. The Presbyterian church was the first Protestant church organized.

The panic of 1837 was a great set-back to De Pere. Those who placed great confidence in the growth of the place were doomed to disappointment. There was a flour and saw mill built, and these seem to have been the chief employments.

About 1850, it seems to have taken another start. There was quite an influx of young people from the East, notably of the legal profession. The first newspaper, the *De Pere Advertiser*, was started this year, by Baldwin & Thayer. It lived just a year. I have a copy of it, in which the principal article seems to be on spring—"ethereal mildness," etc.

This same year (1850) by permission of the legislature the first bridge was built across the river. It was a toll bridge, and everybody was obliged to pay for crossing—so much for a team, so much for each pedestrian. The village of De Pere and the town of Lawrence finally leased it for 99 years, paying \$200 yearly for ten years, and four dollars yearly afterwards. This bridge was kept up, and when I got here in 1866 it seemed to me one of the seven wonders of the world, especially the draw bridge. This was a float bridge, made so the top was not over six inches above the water. When I got here the river was low; a load of lumber came down the hill, and when it struck the bridge it was going very fast. It went down the fly onto the bridge, and down went the bridge—down, down, down it went. It seemed to me that that lumber was shipped to China. Finally the bridge began to come up out of the water, and

to my surprise the load came up the other end of the bridge, and went on. I hesitated about crossing, but was finally persuaded.

The first dams built across the river were for the purpose of retaining the water coming down; but they soon found it was necessary to dam against the water going up stream, for one morning the people woke up to find the dam had gone on an expedition up the Fox.

Lumbering was the chief industry from this time till 1869. In this year the first iron furnace was started. Strangers can hardly estimate the great value the furnaces were to this section, in clearing up the timber land, thereby making it ready for cultivation. Then De Pere began to grow. With six saw mills, two blast furnaces, the agricultural or car works, the steam forge, Bolles's wooden-ware factory, two planing mills, three flouring mills, a hub and spoke factory, besides other minor manufactories, business was booming. During this time, 1870-72, there was more business done in De Pere in a week than there was in Green Bay in a month. The panic of 1873 knocked all this higher than a kite, and De Pere has never recovered. I think it was about this time some one got off the following:

Let croakers creak and groan
In their dismal, surly tone
And think it mighty queer
That a boom has struck De Pere;
Let loyal men and true,
Who never said, "Looks blue,"
Throw up their hats and cheer;
For now the boom is here.

This may have caused the collapse; I trust it killed the author.

In 1890, the two sides of the river, De Pere and West De Pere, united in one city. The events of the later years are so familiar to everyone that it is unnecessary to mention them.

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